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ART. I.—LEO XIII.—A RETROSPECT.

AMID tokens of world-wide sympathy and profound admiration, Leo XIII. has passed away. He belonged to a remarkable group of sovereigns and statesmen, including Mr. Gladstone, Prince Bismarck, and the Emperor William of Germany, whose vigour lasted down to extreme old age, and whose period of active life bridges the interval between our own day and the far distant times of Napoleon. That the late Pope, in his twenty-five years, accomplished a momentous work has been admitted on all hands. Critics by no means partial to him acknowledge "the blameless life, the lofty ideals, and the indomitable moral courage," that were to Catholics a subject of legitimate pride or devout veneration. It is even granted that, thanks to his diplomacy, the Vatican wields an "influence in international politics which it has not possessed since the Middle Ages." But this very triumph, ascribed to secular and ambitious motives, is made a charge against the Pontiff to whom we are indebted for it. I believe that charge to be wholly without foundation, as

unfair to Leo XIII. as it is mistaken in its estimate of Catholic principles. What the Pope undertook he certainly did in no small measure achieve ; but in doing so he was faithful to the Roman tradition, he conferred a benefit on the public order, and he did not menace a single institution which deserves to be respected. So much, it appears to me, can be shown in a brief survey of this notable reign.

I am far from saying that Leo XIII. met with neither checks nor disasters ; or that he was equally at home in handling the infinite matters which fell under his jurisdiction ; or again, that no considerable sacrifices were made by him to political necessities ; or, lastly, that he has not bequeathed to his successor problems which are as perilous to handle as impossible to neglect. Had he quitted the world ten years ago, historians might have reckoned up his victories without balancing against them reverses of any great magnitude. The closing chapter was, in some ways, tragic, abounding in painful episodes. Nevertheless, Leo will be judged, and rightly so, by his first years, in which the transformation of Church-politics, long sought and every day more needed, was carried through once for all with a clearness of insight, a resolution, and a success worthy of the greatest names in the Papal dynasty. Much else was attempted, but this remains—Pius IX. saw the old order come to an end ; Leo, with his measuring-rod, traced the new.

Politics, in some high Christian sense, were the special province of a man who represented, like Innocent III., the genius of Roman Law, and whose training had been from early youth among aspirants to the Curia. Vincent or Joachim Pecci was a Volscian of Carpineto, not very distinguished in point of birth ; educated first in the Jesuit school at Viterbo, and afterwards at the Roman College, where he was remarked for his elegant Latin and his brilliant display of logic. He had been admitted to the Collegio dei Nobili ; at the Sapienza he became Doctor of Laws. In 1837 he received the mantle of a Monsignore ; and in February, 1838, he was named Governor of Benevento. It is well known that he put down brigandage in this unruly district with a strong hand. Gregory XVI. sent

him to Perugia in the capacity of legate, and then of bishop; but an excursion beyond the Alps, as nuncio to the Court of Brussels from 1843 to 1846, enabled him to catch a glimpse of London and Paris, while it facilitated an acquaintance with the French language that told upon his reading by and by. He was not, however, proclaimed Cardinal until 1853; and he spent in his mediæval palace on the Umbrian hill no less than thirty-two years of almost unbroken seclusion.

"We venture to assert," says the *Quarterly Review*, in an article from which I have already quoted, "that at no period of his career did Pope Leo XIII. show himself to be greater than during the troubled years, of his archiepiscopate." In June, 1848, Gioberti was making a triumphal progress through Central Italy. The Cardinal welcomed him with politeness, but scarcely with enthusiasm. Yet he was not insensible to the religious and national thought which dominates Gioberti's writings. He ruled his diocese rather sternly; did many things to relieve the wants of his people; lived in his seminary, and made it a home for the study of St. Thomas Aquinas. When Perugia was taken by the Republicans in 1849; when it revolted from the Pope in 1859; when it was captured by the Swiss, and at last surrendered in 1860 to the Italian regular army, the Cardinal, though abating not one jot of the Papal claims, behaved with conspicuous moderation. He put forth letters in defence of the Temporal Power. He protested against what is known as "civil marriage." He addressed a vehement charge to Victor Emmanuel in defence of ecclesiastical rights, which brought the King to Perugia and in part attained its object. All this notwithstanding, in Rome he had never been a favourite; nor would Cardinal Antonelli—a Volscian like himself—permit his accomplished and perhaps formidable brother to take any share in the duties of the Roman Court. Until documents hitherto private are furnished us, we can but conjecture the motives of an estrangement so lasting, one effect of which was that the Cardinal-Bishop of Perugia sank for more than a quarter of a century below the horizon.

This also it was which led superficial judges to discover

between Pius IX. and Leo XIII. an opposition of principles never in fact existing. To those among Catholics who have gone carefully over the Encyclicals issued by both Pontiffs it is manifest, on the contrary, that one dogmatic view pervades them all. Pius IX. was never a Legitimist, as that term is understood in France; and Leo XIII. showed himself an inflexible enemy to the "Liberalism," which stands condemned in the *Syllabus*. It should be matter of common knowledge that in Rome the political Gallicanism of Bossuet found as little favour as the religious; one was no less repugnant than the other to Jesuit professors in their chairs and to Cardinals who had been brought up in the traditions of Church government. The Bishop of Perugia was no Ghibelline. But whereas Pius IX. endeavoured to save the last remnants of an expiring public system, his successor, face to face with an entirely novel order of things, could not rely upon custom or prescription. He must have long meditated on the great problems which clamoured for solution. How, in fact, was the Holy See to behave towards Governments that were no longer Catholic? How, again, towards the new industrial phenomena due to Capitalism? How, finally, towards the separated churches of the East and the North? Negative conditions had been clearly laid down by Pius IX.; but there was need of a constructive policy which must take into account the changes of a hundred years. When that unexampled reign ended in February, 1878, the Holy See had lost its temporal dominion; it was at variance with the French Republic, as well as with Russia and Germany; the Kulturkampf had been raging for years; there was an Armenian schism in the East, an Old Catholic party in Bavaria, Baden, and Switzerland; the Freemasons governed in Belgium; and at Monte Citorio laws were passed which hampered or impoverished the Church in Italy. Pius IX. has been compared to Louis XVI., and in some respects not without cause. He was equally well-intentioned, as he was equally unfortunate. But the chief point of resemblance is that both witnessed the downfall of an ancient order of things. In Papal history 1870 corresponds to 1789 at Versailles.

Whatever comes after these dates in their respective chronicles belongs to a new age, divided from the old by a revolution in the thoughts, the spirit, and consequently in the laws by which men are directed.

Who should succeed Pius IX.? Outside of Italy no name, except perhaps that of Cardinal Bilio, was familiar to the public. But observers at hand, among whom Ruggiero Bonghi held a memorable position, had fixed on the Bishop of Perugia; and, still more significant, had prophesied the coming alliance between the Church and Democracy. How, in September, 1877, Cardinal Pecci was made Camerlengo, thanks to the strenuous efforts of certain of his colleagues; how the King died at the Quirinal and the Pope at the Vatican within a few days of one another; how the Italian Government took measures to ensure the freedom which was indispensable to the Conclave; and how, after three scrutinies, Leo XIII. was elected by forty-four votes out of sixty-one—all this we may read in the current biographies. The new Pontiff was entering on his sixty-eighth year; neither himself nor the Sacred College anticipated a long reign. But opinion, Protestant no less than Catholic, ratified the choice.

Before long the world was considering, with extreme curiosity, a figure which recalled the great Italian Popes and politicians in their most characteristic features. Slight, pale, with burning eyes and slow gesture, Leo was neither an impromptu speaker, like his predecessor, nor quick as he had been at repartee, nor personally so attractive to Romans or strangers. But he had the strength which comes from self-control, inspired by a clear view of principles. He wrote a delicate and suggestive Latin; he knew his Dante by heart; he was Umbrian, one might almost say Franciscan, whenever he touched on the Middle Ages; and his philosophy was drawn from the Angelic Doctor, whose vivid light sheds a charm on the world of abstractions amid which he moves. As regards German thought, English or French literature, and the way in which Anglo-Saxondom manages its affairs, the Pope could learn what was needed only from experts; his training had not carried him in these directions. Diplomatic by temper, he saw the situation, as

Italians commonly see it, without haze and subject to no misgivings. But St. Thomas had taught him the art of distinctions, while any adjustment with present circumstances required a willingness to treat which had never been foreign to his temperament.

That the Church must be governed on a policy of some kind, which cannot fail to influence nations as well as individuals, is obvious from her history and constitution. But it should be no less evident that, whatever may be thought of such an *Imperium in imperio*, she is utterly dependent for its maintenance on the moral forces at her disposal. When Leo took possession of the Vatican, he had nothing to rely upon except the belief of Catholics in their Supreme Pastor, and the effect which they chose to give it by their public or private action. During his reign, the second longest in an astonishing history, not a sword has been drawn on his behalf; Europe, with a cynical disdain for justice, has declined even to guarantee the Pope's independence. He may be shut up in his palace or thrust out of it by a troop of bersaglieri when the Italian Government shall so decide. Without fleets or armies, with no assured revenue, protected by none of the Great Powers, Leo found himself at the head of a Voluntary System in which he could not move a step unless the people went whither he directed them. He was a preacher of righteousness, and he could be nothing more.

But, we are told, this preacher was "acute enough accurately to gauge the temper and spirit of his age; to realize that out of its intellectual strength must proceed weakness, . . . and to convert [that weakness] into a social and political force by means of which the Papacy should once again be the supreme ruler and arbitrator of the destinies of nations." Let this be granted, so long as it is understood that the Holy See governs by moral suasion without one atom of coercive power, as journalism governs, or as a prophet who does but write and speak in reliance on the power of the word. It is because Prince Bismarck overlooked this plain but all-important distinction, that he plunged into the Kulturkampf which brought him at last to Canossa. So, too, French ministries, mis-

taking influence for conspiracy, charge monks and nuns with high-treason, though they do no more than open schools which not a soul need attend except by free choice. If European rulers have suffered the Papacy to be disestablished and disendowed, they must take the consequences. Among them is the natural growth of a Catholic interest, in Parliament and out of doors, political or social, but the necessary expression of principles held in common by citizens who are, at all events, equal before the law to Protestants, Jews, and Freemasons, and who have as much right as they to combine in their own defence.

Four periods may be marked off, shading naturally into one another, during this crowded pontificate. We will speak of them as the German, the French, the Social and the Scientific. All through, one line of action is discernible and one idea. Leo's first Encyclical, *Inscrutabili*, dated Easter, 1878, gives it almost in epigrammatic form, "The Church is the mother of civilisation." In his second, *Quod Apostolici*, of December, 1878, he denounces Free Thought, as it is called, and the social revolution, which he termed its offspring. The Pope thus came forward as a champion of law and order, at the moment when attempts like those of Hödel and Nobiling on the German Emperor's life were filling sober minds with alarm. His earliest correspondence had been directed to Berlin; it was followed up by negotiations with Prince Bismarck, and in February, 1880, by the concession of the *Anzeigepflicht*, at least for a time. But we may doubt whether a settlement would have been reached had not the Centre party, under Windhorst's admirable leadership, seized the balance of power in the Reichstag. The Chancellor yielded. Dr. Korum was appointed Bishop of Treves; a new Prussian envoy appeared in the Vatican; and the restored hierarchy met at Fulda in August, 1885. Two years later, at the bidding of Leo XIII., the Septennial Bill—a pure military measure—was passed by adhesion of the Catholic vote. Until the elections of 1903, the Centre held its proud pre-eminence among German parties; it did much to further social progress, while keeping more extreme reformers in check; and it became the nucleus of associations that have

displayed in action the principles advocated by Pope Leo with regard to labour and capital.

In recommending the Septennial Bill as a measure of peace, the Holy Father went, it was objected by some, to the very edge of his jurisdiction. But he could reply that the Church in Germany must be saved at any cost short of sin or dishonour, and that nothing else was possible. He advised, he did not strictly command. His intervention, at the request of a man who had done what in him lay to root out Catholicism from the soil of Prussia, bore striking testimony to the virtue of political combination. In olden days the Pope had blessed the crusader's sword; he was now consecrating modern weapons—the ballot-box and the Parliamentary vote; being unable, had he desired it ever so much, to stand aloof from social interests or, as I may say, to preach the Gospel *in vacuo*. There are those who think abstention heavenly-minded and the Church a cloister; but Leo XIII. would not have agreed with them. He succeeded in pacifying the great Protestant Empire; he recovered the confiscated revenues of many years; he was on terms of friendship with William I. and Frederick III.; and at last of affectionate intimacy with William II. Men were not a little touched, as the Pope lay on his death-bed, to hear that the German Emperor had publicly offered up a prayer for his restoration. When we think of another Leo, in 1520, and of Luther burning the Papal Bull at Wittenberg, we find such an incident symbolical of great changes. The Kulturkampf has ended in a reconciliation which, whether at Rome, Strassburg, or even Jerusalem, promises well for the peace of religion that is yet to come.

For all this Leo XIII. deserves to be held in everlasting remembrance. His action may have been daringly political; its motives were such as became the *Servus servorum Dei*. But when he turned to France, the questions which confronted him were of appalling magnitude and difficulty. France was the foremost of Catholic powers, yet in its government the spirit of a persecuting Atheism had prevailed since the failure of the Royalist *coup d'état* on May 16th, 1877. Acting on Gambetta's dictum, "Le cléricalisme, voilà l'ennemi," M. Jules Ferry proposed and

carried his famous decrees of 1879, by which every religious congregation in the land was to be broken up. "That admirable engine of servitude and tyranny, which is called the French administration," was always at the service of a majority in the Chambers. It held the Bishops under a hard rule; by its Minister of Public Worship it endeavoured to tune the pulpits; and it made the pittance of some forty thousand clergy depend on their submission to a jealous master who could not endure one word spoken in freedom. M. Naquet brought in his Divorce Bill, against which Leo XIII. protested on behalf of Christian marriage, that is to say, of the only true type of civilisation. But the party which abhorred religious vows was not likely to accept his arguments; and Mgr. Czacki, who was nuncio in Paris, lamented that high-born Catholics, after violent speeches in his salon against an intolerable *régime*, went away to their amusements, trusting to the reaction which would follow upon official excesses. Thus while Orleanists and Legitimists did not want the Republic to be strong, all parties conspired in keeping the Church feeble. It was a thoroughly false situation, by which religion lost and true democracy did not gain.

For seven years the Pope waited. At last, on All Saints' Day, 1885, he published the luminous Magna Charta, "On the Constitution of States," which opens with the words, "Immortale Dei." By that time the French Republic, although liable to diseases of corruption, Boulangism, and other virulent disorders, had proved itself to be the only possible form of government. It was firmly established; no pretender could find a hearing from the French people at large. But there had grown up a general belief, to which writers like Chateaubriand, Joseph de Maistre, Bonald, and a very important school of Italian journalism gave currency, that the old alliance between "throne and altar" was a sort of Roman dogma. The Church, then, would be Legitimist beyond recall, committed to the House of Bourbon as English Jacobites were committed to the House of Stuart. And it must never be doubted that Rome does proclaim a doctrine of Divine Right, or that lawful authority comes from Heaven. But we have only

to turn over the pages of Hergenröther, Balmez, or any competent theologian, in order to ascertain what is the real Catholic teaching on this head—a teaching enshrined in St. Thomas, expounded by Bellarmine, and victoriously defended by Suarez in his answer to James I., King of Great Britain. So far is it from being a dogma bound up with Royalism, that it deserves to be known as “fundamental democracy”; yet with Rousseau’s *Contrat Social* it has nothing in common, and it positively rejects the omnipotent State which, to men like Mr. Herbert Spencer, seems a peril of the latter days, not without reason.

When, therefore, we read that “the order given to French Catholics to rally round the Republic surprised and puzzled Europe,” we can but feel surprise in our turn. Philosophic historians, nay, perhaps journalists who wish to enlighten the multitude, would do well to consult standard authorities before they assume as a Roman principle an impossible doctrine of Legitimism. Such a doctrine never has been held by the Papacy; it runs counter to tradition, mediæval and modern. We will quote, in illustration, a decisive passage which was written as far back as January, 1849, by the eminent American Catholic, Dr. Brownson, at a moment when Pius IX. was charged with being “a Liberal Pontiff, a sort of Socialistic Pope, opposed to monarchy, in favour of popular institutions, taking the side of the people against their rulers, and sanctioning the principle of their movements.” Upon all which Dr. Brownson observes: “The thing, *in hac Providentia*, is simply impossible. The Church, it is certain and undeniable, is wedded to no particular form of government or of social organisation. She stakes her existence neither on imperialism nor on feudalism, neither on monarchy nor on democracy. To no one or other of them does she commit herself, and she declares each of them to be a legitimate form of government when and where it exists with no legal claimant against it. But the principle of *these* movements is exclusive democracy: not that democracy is a legitimate form of government, which is true; not that in these times, the views of the age being what they are, it is, with some restrictions, the best form of

government, which may not be false ; but that it is the only form, and all others usurpations to which the people owe no allegiance . . . The Church cannot accept this principle."

No, she never could ; but, on the other hand, Catholic teachers of the highest rank confess with Bellarmine that the supreme political jurisdiction resides immediately in the social organism *tanquam in subjecto*, to be vested by the community in one or more persons. And as early as October, 1880, Leo XIII., writing to Cardinal Guibert, laid down in set terms that "the Church neither blames nor reproves any form of government"; that it makes no difference in point of right between monarchy and republic ; and that all it looks to, amid the vicissitudes of the political order, is the interest of Christianity. These loyal declarations did not save unoffending monks and nuns from proscription or exile ; but they should have warned the "white cockades," as Cardinal Manning used to call them, of a change not long to be delayed in the Papal policy. Still, despite the most affectionate exhortations (as to the French pilgrims in October, 1882), Conservatives would not abandon their old unhappy dreams ; there was war, in speech and pamphlet, between those who should have combined, like their German brethren, to uphold the banner of the Faith. Anti-Christian manuals were inflicted on the elementary schools ; they were condemned by the Pope, and afterwards by the bishops, who underwent in several cases the loss of their miserable stipends for these acts of simple duty. Englishmen, if not violently opposed to all religion, would be scandalised on reading, for example, M. Paul Bert's *Manual of Civic Instruction*, which calls Atheism one of the rights of man, scouts the supernatural, and defines God as the unintelligible. It was for declining to approve of these blasphemies in schools open to every French boy and girl that bishops found themselves accused of treason. Thus the State, as carried on by a long series of prime ministers at the Palais Bourbon, from Léon Gambetta to M. Combes, became a church of secularism, with its infallible decrees, its anathemas, proscriptions, fines, and civil intolerance.

In a letter to M. Grévy, May 12th, 1883, Leo deplored the banishment from the public schools of religious teaching, which was also excluded from the hospitals, the armies, and the charitable institutions of France. He could not but lift up his voice against the new law of divorce. He was grieved that the clergy should be taken from the holy place to serve as common soldiers, while they were not permitted to exercise their sacred duties as chaplains or almoners. M. Grévy replied that the clergy had themselves to thank if anti-religious passions had been aroused: were not large numbers of them hostile to the Republic from its beginning? To this the Pope answered, in February, 1884, by his remarkable letter, "*Nobilissima Gallorum gens.*" It made a deep impression; but domestic strife continued; the name of Dupanloup, whose life had just been published, was a signal for fresh combats; and the Cardinal of Paris summed up five years of incessant attacks on faith and morals in a melancholy but ineffective appeal to the President. What could be done to arrest the ruin of Christian France?

Catholics must accept the new order as a fact, and make the best they could of it; such was the conclusion at which Leo XIII. arrived in 1885; such was the practical issue of his teaching in the *Immortale Dei*. He would not put an end to the Concordat. He held by the union of Church and State as in principle necessary. It was not to be supposed that he could approve, any more than Gregory XVI. had approved, of the unlimited licence of printing or of religious indifference. But, on the other hand, faith is not a matter of compulsion; and, under modern circumstances, variety in belief, though lamentable, has brought in its train what is known as "liberty of worship." The Church, said Leo, tolerates this condition of things so long as it cannot be changed for the better; let Catholics, therefore, take their part in public life, but without yielding to the false principles which imply that all forms of belief are equally valid; that error has rights no less than truth; and that society may ignore the existence of God.

We must bear in mind that the Holy Father had before his eyes a militant unbelief which neither exists in English-speaking countries, nor would be endured by them. No

one, for instance, will charge upon the American or the British Constitution that it denies the Divine source of authority, puts the multitude in God's place, or lays claim to unbounded jurisdiction over the moral and intellectual training of citizens. But the French bureaucracy does this and more. It was, therefore, a bold stroke, nay, in some sense, a forlorn hope, on the part of Leo when he set about converting the Jacobin *régime* of M. Grévy to one which would respect individual liberty, and not frown upon every private association that declined to accept its articles of faith. A vehement discussion, in the *Journal de Rome* and elsewhere, troubled the year 1885 and those that followed; nor could the Pope's vigorous language, echoed by Cardinal Perraud and many other French notables, hinder the rigid Conservatives from sharply criticizing this new departure. The *Journal de Rome* was censured and came to an end. Cardinal Pitra, who favoured the Irreconcilables, made his submission. Yet it was not until 1890 that this attempt to release the Church from an alliance with fallen dynasties, which had proved a success at Madrid, found expression in the toast of Cardinal Lavigerie at a banquet in Algiers, whereby the *ancien régime* was formally disowned.

In France, everyone asked whether Leo XIII. had inspired or permitted the Cardinal's action. It was known before long that he approved of it. The new Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla, wrote in November to the Bishop of St. Flour, that French Catholics would do well to acquiesce in the situation and imitate the conduct of the Holy See. In reply, the five French members of the Sacred College accepted the Republic, but protested against its encroachments on spiritual territory. To them Leo addressed an epistle, written in their own tongue, which left no room for hesitation (*Au milieu des sollicitudes*, Feb., 1892). Social needs, he told them, had brought in modern forms of Government; the executive had a claim on obedience, while faulty legislation could be altered by Parliamentary efforts; as for separation between Church and State in a country like France, it was not to be thought of; it would mean a relapse into paganism. The programme

was laid down, and, so far as words went, was received by bishops, clergy, and laity. The *Univers* rallied to the Republic; so did M. de Mun, whose oration at Lille, in June, 1892, acclaimed the consecration of Democracy by the Roman Pontiff. Years passed, nevertheless, and neither of the extremes, believing or infidel, would bend to Pope Leo's direction. He did not win the Jacobins; a very large part of the Conservative army refused, and still refuses, to follow where he led.

Something, however, had been gained. The religious orders, which answer a social need in France as much as the Republican idea answers one, came back quietly, spread and flourished, to be smitten by a perfect hurricane of proscription under M. Waldeck Rousseau and M. Combes. Always the same pretext was levelled against them: they dabbled in politics; they corrupted the army and navy; they were meditating a *coup d'état*. Accusations, as vague as unattested, have twice over in twenty years been made an apology for denying to thousands of men and scores of thousands of women their right to exist in the land that gave them birth. All seas and shores are covered with their wrecks. And these new crimes have been committed in the name of liberty. It is not wonderful, then, if some among French Catholics judge the policy of Leo XIII. to be an absolute failure; while others turn back to the delusive thoughts of a Legitimist restoration; and others again would have the Concordat dissolved in the hope of buying freedom with all the Church receives (though her undoubted right) from the annual budget.

Manifestly these are questions that require the most delicate handling, nor would it become strangers to meddle in a crisis which threatens disaster on so vast a scale. But if it be true, as Montalembert said, that "the Catholic Church carries in her bosom the world's future," and if no power on earth can roll back the tide of democracy, it is plain that we are only at the first stage in a very long journey. Everything depends on the form which free institutions will assume. In the great English and American commonwealths law is neither Atheistic nor anti-Christian, despite certain of its aberrations; the Church

is a self-governing body, and her support is in the people. Leo XIII. was not called upon to legislate for the 130 millions who speak the English tongue and who manage their religious affairs on the voluntary system. Nevertheless, what he has declared in the *Immortale Dei* and other documents bearing on the liberty of the press, of worship, and of conscience, is true of all modern countries, and in them will find a growing application. As Cardinal Newman pointed out when he was entering the Sacred College, there is a sense in which "the Liberal principle is forced upon us through the necessity of the case." But how can a genuine Catholic accept any such principle? We must distinguish or we shall be lost. "Hitherto," the Cardinal went on, "it has been considered that religion alone, with its supernatural sanctions, was strong enough to secure the submission of the mass of the population to law and order. Now, philosophers and politicians are bent on satisfying this problem without the aid of Christianity." Secular education is to take its place; "the broad, fundamental, ethical truths of justice, benevolence, veracity, and the like—proved experience and those natural laws which exist and act spontaneously in society and social matters, whether physical or psychological."

But, we feel bound to ask, are not such laws and truths themselves Divine in their source, and a manifestation of Providence? Certainly: and here we take our distinction. "It is not till we find," says the Cardinal again, "that this array of principles is intended to supersede, to block out religion, that we pronounce it to be evil." Let it therefore discard that hostile aim, let it act within its own sphere, and religion will be at peace with it. Father Hecker was wont to rehearse the solemn declaration by which America became a State, and to affirm that it is made up of "Divine and fundamental truths," of "practical verities," which have "a ground both in reason and in revelation." Now, it includes these statements, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just

powers from the consent of the governed." And with the full knowledge of these things Cardinal Manning could assert that "in the greatest commonwealth and in the greatest empire of the world"—meaning England and America—"the Church, Catholic and Roman, deeply-rooted and daily expanding, calls the freest races of mankind to the liberty of the Faith."

When the principles here lightly sketched have made an entrance into minds imbued with traditions of "paternal" government, and not cognisant of any other in practice, the well-trodden path of "reaction," on which so many have spent their lives, will be seen to lead nowhither—to be a *cul de sac*, from which Catholic politicians must come out once for all. "Modern liberties" are a concrete system, mixed of good and evil. The good may be made better; the evil can, by sense, insight, and courage, be alleviated or perhaps abolished in large part.

From what we have said, it will appear that Leo XIII., in recognising the French Republic and urging on Catholics the duty of citizenship, could appeal to principles and precedents which have in them no taint of Jacobinism. But a situation full of trouble was laid open when the political problem had thus been happily solved. The last quarter of a century bears in many ways a resemblance, which cannot fail to strike thoughtful students, to the years of Socialist propaganda before 1848. Rights of property; wrongs of proletarians; progress and poverty; the iron law of supply and demand; the living wage; the housing of the poor; the Sunday rest: we have been working on this treadmill as others in their time, from Lamennais and Pierre Leroux, from Saint Simon and Robert Owen, to Lassalle, Karl Marx, and Henry George. It is a thrice-told tale, to be continued down the twentieth century until some closer approximation to economic justice shall be discovered, than the unstable equilibrium afforded by strikes and lockouts, by "trusts," "rings," and giant monopolies.

We have quoted Brownson as proving that Pius IX. distinguished between the true and false in Modern Democracy on lines which his great successor had only to follow. Let us quote him once more on the vital instinct

which, amid errors and confusion, lends to Socialist advocates their persuasive force. "Man," says Brownson, reviewing Donoso Cortés in 1855, "communes with God in religion, with [his fellow] man in society, and with nature by means of property; and any political or social order that strikes at either of these, or hinders or obstructs this threefold communion, as Leroux well maintains, is alike repugnant to the will of God and the highest interests of humanity." But, on reviewing the condition of labour, the phenomena presented by the great cities, the accumulation of riches, side by side with a misery which was emptying churches and creating a new and formidable heathendom, bishops like Von Ketteler, Manning and Gibbons became aware of an enemy who summed up in himself all disorder. The "lawless one" was a tyrant system of economics, worshipped under many names—laissez-faire, freedom of contract, capitalism—but always the same. It exploited man, woman and child for unlimited hours as long as positive restriction was not set on its Moloch-sacrifices; it monopolised the public resources; it corrupted legislatures; it practised usury with murderous consequences on a lordly scale; it issued lying prospectuses, rigged markets, adulterated every article of commerce, dodged the tax-gatherer, and was the great first cause of intemperance, prostitution and irreligion. These are not random statements or shafts aimed at a venture; every one of them can be illustrated in the evidence of dispassionate observers; they may be collected from Blue Books, Royal Commissions, registrars' statistics; they fall within the daily experience of priests, doctors, magistrates, and explorers into the dim regions where poverty reigns. This was, and is, the Social Question. Will anyone deny that it is just as much the Religious Question? "Christianity," says a recent Anglican writer, Canon Henson, "must approach the brutalized masses indirectly, by reforming their conditions of existence before offering them its spiritual message." Years ago, in a Catholic conference, this was put more briefly: "First civilize, then you may hope to Christianize." But all did not accept the saying, though in the New Testament we find it written: "Howbeit that was

not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural, and afterwards that which is spiritual"—a doctrine echoed by St. Thomas in his "Grace which supposes or implies nature," as a foundation whereon to build, even the City of God.

At any rate Leo XIII., who had given close attention to economics from a Christian point of view long ere he mounted the Apostolic Chair, took up this matter as of his bounden duty. He reprobated the Utopias of Anarchist and Communist; he defended, not indeed all forms of private property, but its idea; he offered an argument for the giving and taking of interest which might leave untouched the condemnation of usury as it has ever been stereotyped in our Catholic text-books. The chief Encyclical of his reign, standing out beyond all others, is that "On the Condition of the Working Class," dated May 15, 1891. Pilgrimages of French *ouvriers*, led by M. Harmel, in 1887 and 1889, foreshadowed this new attempt to win back the industrial order, once devoted to Church and religion, in its guilds, confraternities, free cities of the Hansa League, in its popular governments of Florence, Ghent or London, but now estranged from the "mother of civilisation." To those mediæval glories Pope Leo referred with emotion in acknowledging an address from the Comte de Mun, who, like Cardinal Capecelatro, would perhaps call himself a Christian Socialist, were the term not liable to be misinterpreted. "The Church," said Leo, "created and encouraged those great bodies corporate, which did so much to perfect the arts and crafts, while securing to the operative ease and comfort." This was the outcome of good laws, and to the spirit of those laws religion might lay claim. What the Church did formerly she was ready and willing to do once more.

Catholics had begun the work of social restoration in Germany; but it was one of our Swiss brethren, M. Decurtins, who proposed the Labour Conference at Berne in 1889-1890. The Pope warmly praised it. Then William II. threw himself into the movement, meaning to checkmate a Socialist programme in his own Empire, and the Berlin Conference followed. At his invitation the Bishop

of Breslau, Dr. Kopp, represented Leo XIII., who, in reply to the Emperor, pleaded for "such a distribution of labour as should take account of age and sex, pay due regard to Sunday, and not permit the working-man to be exploited as a vile instrument, without consideration for his natural dignity, his morals, or his home." In these words we discover the germ of an entire legislation sketched two months later, when the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* took the eyes and touched the hearts of men on both sides of the Atlantic.

There is no need to analyse a document which has gathered round it a world of commentary, and has proved the starting-point of congresses, benefit associations, workmen's banks, and other free societies, intended as a breakwater against pauperism. Far more momentous than present efforts was the attitude taken up by the Pope, and consequently by the Church as a whole, in regard to wage-slavery, oppressive contracts, usury, and the proper view of capital and labour as social functions. The Holy See could never be a party to violent measures; nor was it drawing up a code of details, which must in countries of varying development be incapable of falling under a cast-iron law. Fruitfully to judge of the Encyclical we should compare it with what has been done by bishops and clergy in the parallel question of serfdom from very early times. A direction was given, an ideal held up, which by effective though not hasty legislation, at length brought to pass a state of things wherein the holding of man as a chattel by his fellow-Christian became intolerable. The last vestiges of that system were swept away in Brazil with Leo's enthusiastic approbation. But a more subtle and often more heartless exploiting of the poor by the rich had come in with "free contract" falsely so-called. The science and the art of Economics were divorced from every moral law. The purity of children, the peace of home, the sanctities of religion were flung into a furnace seven times heated which was consuming the precious goods of mankind under pretence of making them cheap. Leo XIII. has written over Economics the law of conscience, "Thou shalt not steal." Not steal from infancy its chance of living; from the poor light, air, water, and the common rights of

human decency ; from the worker what he has produced ; from the nation its increment. Property must not be theft. "The original attitude of Leo XIII. towards the new social forces," observes the *Quarterly Review*, "will make his pontificate a memorable epoch, not only in the history of the Roman Church, but in that of all Christian countries. His personal conception of the duties of the Church towards the labouring classes was catholic in the broadest and best sense of the term. It was such a conception as befitted the chief pastor of Christendom."

These are generous words, but none the less rigorously true. And it would be as easy as agreeable to show that in reconstructing the "social order among the masses," Pope Leo was laying down principles which had long been axiomatic among theologians: witness the Catechism of the Council of Trent, itself a repetition of the ethical teaching on these heads of St. Thomas. An open market not subject to the laws of justice and human kindness—how shall we describe it save as the Babylon in which "slaves and the souls of men" are bought and sold, abhorred of prophet and apostle from the beginning, destined to be "utterly burned with fire, for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her!" In lifting up his voice to condemn this golden city, the Pope was at one with philosophers, moralists, lovers of beauty, reformers in every land, whose bitter cry has come down to us through an age of "unexampled prosperity." He had broken with an out-worn political order ; but he never could allow the industrial *régime* to set its bases on a social misery which excited the indignation of every thinking man. This was, in fact, the "Liberalism and new civilisation, with which," as Pius IX. boldly declared, "the Roman Pontiff never could come to terms." It was on its trial, or, to speak more accurately, was already doomed. The conscience of mankind, to which Leo XIII. gave expression in his Apostolic Letters, demands that labour and capital be estimated as moral values. When that doctrine, to which Carlyle, Mill, Ruskin, and other non-Catholic teachers bear witness, has been made the sovereign principle of law-giving, the true industrial era will open its first chapter.

With energy, but to little purpose, Pius IX. had called round him the genuine conservative forces of Society. It was the hour when atomic, or individualist, views held sway, and no man would be his brother's keeper. Since 1880, the movement of desintegration has been waning. There is a return to something deeper. Forces of the most varied strength and quality, from Darwin's *Origin of Species* to the dreams of mystics, and the "hard unrelenting prose" of Socialists, have broken up the Liberal combination. Europe, in the twentieth century, has an air almost of the Middle Age, as contrasted with Europe of fifty years ago; we seem to have passed from the crude suggestions of a mechanical philosophy to analogies perceived between life in the individual and life in the body politic, or, as I should say myself, from Bentham to Burke. The resemblance of this large movement to a more recondite one, which aims at restoring the principles of St. Thomas Aquinas, will not have escaped Catholics. We may trace its beginnings before 1860. But, indeed, the Angelic Doctor could never be forgotten where theology was taught as a science; for, if we close the *Summa*, in what book shall we light upon it? The dissertations of Liberatore, Sanseverino, Prisco, and Kleutgen—to mention only these—are long prior to Papal documents such as the *Æterni Patris* of Leo XIII., which came out in August, 1879. Leo has, of course, done "yeoman's service" by establishing in our schools a text which, holding within it the soundest Greek metaphysics—the happy blending of Plato and Aristotle under Christian influences—affords an unrivalled discipline of thought, and secures among the clergy an intelligent adhesion to truths of the first order. It does not follow that we can deal with Spinoza, Kant, Hegel, and Mr. Herbert Spencer, by reviving mediæval physics or rehearsing syllogisms that, to be effective, must be applied critically and in particular to modern systems. Nor did Leo desire it. "*Sapientiam Sti Thomæ dicimus*," such are his words, "*si quid enim est a doctoribus scholasticis vel nimia subtilitate quæsitum, vel parum considerate traditum, si quid cum exploratis posterioris ævi doctrinis minus cohærens, vel denique quoquo modo non probabile, id nullo pacto in animo est ætati*

nostræ ad imitandum proponi." Here is a sentence which might be written above the professor's chair, to warn him that routine is not wisdom nor the mere repetition of formulas a way to truth.

On all hands Leo XIII. set up schools, seminaries, and universities, from Washington to Fribourg and Beyrout. To English Catholics he threw open Oxford and Cambridge. He founded in Rome National Colleges. He unbarred the Vatican archives. In calling up John Henry Newman to the Sacred College he was not only distinguishing a saintly and most winning personality, but extending the protection of the Holy See to works at once original and profound, which are telling more and more upon the development of apologetic literature. His encouragement of Oriental research was a step in the same direction. Significant also was the naming of a commission to guide and control Bible studies, now conducted on lines rather of archæology and criticism, than of Patristic exegesis. The Holy Father took a deep interest in all that regarded the Churches of the East. But his Constitution *Orientalium* marks a return to the ideas of Benedict XIV., who dealt tenderly with these ancient memories. Our Liturgy has been enriched by many offices, binding Rome with Alexandria and Jerusalem, or exhibiting in their devotion to the Holy See men like SS. Cyril and Methodius, the founders of Slavonic literature and civilisation. And if the Pope could not, in like manner, associate the present Anglican Church with Roman orders or recognise its hierarchy, at least he convinced Englishmen of his goodwill towards them in documents which breathe a spirit of sincere religion, as many have felt and acknowledged who are outside the orthodox pale.

We make no attempt even to summarize the endless activities of a ruler who founded some two hundred and fifty bishoprics, signed over twenty concordats, and touched on every question as it arose, from agrarian troubles in Ireland to the religious needs of Japan; from "Christian Democracy" to "Americanism;" from the slave-trade in Africa to the establishment of diplomatic relations at St. Petersburg. The perplexed and ever more grievous condition of the Church in France would demand a volume to

itself. The Temporal Power, though no longer in existence, has determined a whole series of vicissitudes in European politics. Every country has claimed attention from this great ruler, whose strength appeared to be as inexhaustible as his vigilance was unsleeping. Let us, however, bring into one the scattered rays of light to which these twenty-five years will owe their renown. We believe that a panegyric which did not flatter would declare somewhat as follows :—

Leo XIII. preached with the New Testament in his hand. He taught from it, not as a barren philosophy, but as a code of living laws. To be civilized, he held, was to be Christian; this world had an outlook into the next. What, in his eyes, had the terrible system of capitalism done but given a weight and momentum to unbelief, robbing the proletariat (to which sad servitude yeomen, artisans, and no small part of the middle class were sunken) not only of their independence, but of their Faith? Politically free, these new heathen were fast falling a prey to the secular spirit. Heaven, which in their view had grown to be a dream, was no longer an aspiration. The world of matter, governed by Darwinian laws, now closed in their horizon; within it, they imagined, must be the Paradise of humanity, for there was none besides. The Atheistic propaganda taught men a creed which took from them, not only God, but the soul itself; it made of them wheels in a machinery set in movement by interest or passion. The last word was enjoyment, the code of ethics utilitarian.

In many a fervid strain Leo dwelt on this quintessence of all former heresies, which he termed Naturalism, inasmuch as it refused to admit any power except those which were bound up with the visible frame of things. It denied the Beyond or declared it unknowable, in the name of physical science, which was now the only God, with the riches of the universe heaped about its throne. The masses, bent beneath their burdens, could neither look up to their Redeemer on Calvary nor to their Father in Heaven. Yet, manifestly, the time had fallen into a moral chaos; anarchy was the order of the day. But the student of Catholic

wisdom asked, why should science be Agnostic, or Democracy anti-Christian? Could that be true civilisation which, under the guidance of Rationalists, Communists, and Freemasons, was making an end of the family, degrading or dissolving marriage, and throwing the reins on the neck of man's lusts? Symptoms of the gravest kind were accumulating. The time was short. Would not Catholics, at least, understand that they had public duties? that as citizens, they might Christianize the State; as philosophers, lift up science to Heavenly things; as economists, do justice between rich and poor; as journalists, apply their principles to current events; as lay folk, strengthen the hands of the clergy; as churchmen, show forth the grace and truth which dwelt, as in a tabernacle, among us from the hour when their Master came?

A voice so sweet and solemn, issuing from the secluded chambers of the Vatican year after year, could not fail to win admiration, while obedience to it might be slow. Leo XIII. succeeded better, in some points of vital importance, with strangers than with his own children. His Legate found himself at home in the republican air of Washington, and sighed on comparing the liberty which Catholics enjoyed under the American flag with the servitude they could not shake off in many parts of Europe. But, when all is said, the nineteenth century leaves the Church visibly stronger than she was a hundred years ago, not merely or chiefly in the relations of politics, but as a spiritual power. She has always "upheld the value of human reason and asserted the natural rights of man." This it is which justified Pope Leo's measures of conciliation; his title to fame will be that, relying upon St. Thomas Aquinas, he dared to sketch the outlines of the new Christian order. As for the man himself, whose refined genius found expression in so classic a style, be it enough to say, with Petrarch, a poet not unlike him in temperament:—

" Pieno era il mondo de' suoi onor perfetti
Allorchè Dio, per adornarne il Cielo,
La sì ritolse; e cosa era da Lui."

WILLIAM BARRY.

ART. II.—THE NEW PONTIFICATE.

I.

SINCE the issue of our last number, Leo XIII. of happy memory has passed away, and Pius X. has been elected.

At ten minutes past four on the afternoon of Monday, July 20th, Leo XIII. breathed his last. On the evening of Friday, July 31st, the Cardinals, sixty-two in number, entered into conclave, and in the forenoon of Monday, August 4th, at noon, at the seventh scrutiny it was found that Cardinal Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, was elected. The white *sfumata* gave the signal to the world outside, and Cardinal Macchi presently announced the election from the loggia of St. Peter's in the traditional form :

"Magnum gaudium annuntio vobis. Papam habemus, Reverendissimum Dominum Cardinalem Josephum Sarto, qui sibi nomen imposuit Pius Decimus."

Thus, after a conclave of less than three days, carried out with rigorous observance of the wise and stately regulations with which the Church safeguards the Sacred College in the discharge of this, its highest function, and under conditions of liberty, solemnity, dignity, and piety, which left nothing to be desired, a new chief pastor was given to the Church, and a new name added to the majestic roll of the Vicars of Christ, which spans the centuries from the days of Pentecost to the present time.

The new Pope, like many of his illustrious predecessors, is of humble origin. In his elevation to the most sacred and most exalted dignity upon earth, the Church,

true to the example of her Founder, has shown herself "no respecter of persons." She has too profound a sense of real greatness and of the stupendous importance of the issues at stake to have time to think of those puny considerations of social caste, to which minds of the small and worldly type are apt to attach importance.

Giuseppe Sarto was born on June 2nd, 1835, at Riese, a small village of some 800 inhabitants. Riese is in the diocese of Treviso, and the cathedral city of Treviso, with some thirty thousand inhabitants, lies about seventeen miles north of Venice. His father was a minor municipal official, and his relatives are still innkeepers or shopkeepers of humble and honest standing. In his earlier years, Giuseppe Sarto was sent by Don Tito Tusarni, his parish priest, to school at Castelfranco, to which he walked daily on foot from Riese. Later on, Cardinal Monico and Mgr. Farina, Bishop of Treviso, obtained for him a place in the diocesan seminary of Padua. On the 18th September, 1858, he was ordained priest. For nine years he officiated as curate at Tombolo. In 1867 he was made parish priest of Salzano, where he laboured for nine years more. Both at Tombolo and Salzano he is said to have been idolized by his parishioners, and to have been remarkable by his practical sympathy with the labouring poor, and the intelligent zeal with which he entered into their difficulties, and not only helped them, but did what was still better—taught them to help themselves. Mgr. Zinelli, the Bishop of Treviso, used to say of him, "I have never known a thinker or a writer more ready and more industrious." In 1875, in recognition of his services, he made him canon and chancellor of the diocese. Impressed by his intelligence and priestly spirit, the bishop entrusted to him the office of spiritual director and religious instructor in his diocesan seminary. Thus, after eighteen years of training in the parochial ministry, he was called to the practical work of the formation of the clergy. On the death of Mgr. Zinelli, he was appointed Vicar-Capitular, and had his first experience of the government of a diocese. His administration was a marked success, and on November 10th, 1884, he was appointed Bishop of Mantua. The

diocese is said to have been transformed under his stimulating rule and influence. It was at Mantua, in 1886, that he presided with distinction at the festivities organized for celebration of the centenary of St. Anselm, and he was brought into sympathetic touch with one of the great glories of our Catholic past. The conspicuous ability and merit of the Bishop of Mantua did not escape the vigilant eyes of Leo XIII., who forthwith marked him out for a higher eminence and a wider sphere of labour. He was summoned to Rome, and on June 12th, 1893, was made a Cardinal of Holy Roman Church, under the title of San Bernardo delle Terme, and three days later, June 15th, was created Patriarch of Venice. At Venice, his charity, tact, and affability made him unboundedly popular. His influence made itself most happily felt, both in raising the tone of ecclesiastical spirit and discipline, and in winning the masses of the laity to the cause of the Church. He succeeded in uniting the conservative and the clerical sections, and secured an overwhelming majority for the friends of religion in the municipal administration. His attitude towards the State has been perfect in its combination of unflinching firmness, with all the charm of frank courtesy and conciliation. When King Humbert and Queen Margherita visited Venice, the Cardinal went in his gorgeous gondola to pay them his respects; and as recently as April last he blessed the foundation stone of the new Campanile in the presence of the Count of Turin and Signor Nasi, the minister of public instruction, and in the course of an eloquent speech made a graceful allusion to the historic glories of the House of Savoy. Yet those who know most of Pius X. are the most emphatic in their assurance that no bishop in Christendom is more inflexible in all that concerns the rights and liberty of the Church. There is a domain in which it is necessary to be *intransigente*. There is another in which it may be excusable, but regrettable. The Pope, as the old French proverb puts it, "sits high and sees far," and he may be trusted to know where the one domain ends and where the other begins. To His Vicar on earth, God's guidance will not be wanting.

It is thus by nine years' life and work as a simple country curate, nine years more as a parish priest, eight years more as a canon, nine years more as a bishop, and ten years more as a cardinal patriarch, that Pius X. has mounted to the august eminence of the Chair of Peter. The long path of forty-five years of priesthood which he has trod in coming to us has led—and some will not regret it—not by the way of the *carriera*, with its training and traditions of diplomacy and officialism, but by the way of the pastoral and apostolic ministry, with its noble simplicity, its quick insight and tender sympathies, and its sweet solicitude for souls.

As to his personal character, there seems to be, as far as we can gather from both the home and continental press, a wonderful consensus and ready witness as to the estimable qualities of which he has given proof in the various places in which he has lived and laboured. He seems to have been as dearly loved by the citizens of the "Queen of the Adriatic" as by his poor *contadini* at Tombolo. To make a small *cento* of these published testimonies, he is described as a "man of personal fascination and splendid presence"—"a man of fine physique, a handsome open face, with clear-cut powerful features, softened by eyes in which is the light of perpetual youth, reminding the observer of Pius IX., whom he also resembles in his candid, unassuming expression, brightened by a twinkling humour about the lips"—"an early riser, and a hard worker"—"a diligent student"—"a zealous but tactful disciplinarian"—"an excellent administrator and organizer"—"one who has high ideals of priestly life and clerical decorum"—"remarkable for great goodness of heart, charity, sympathy, blameless life, and profound piety"—"distinguished by charming frankness and simplicity, remarkable modesty, winning affability, combined with wonderful firmness, which makes him absolutely uncompromising in all that concerns the faith or the rights of the Church"—"one who has great kindness of heart with quite a passionate interest in the social question and the betterment of the life of the labouring poor"—"a good preacher, and one whose sermons are eloquent by their

unction and solidity of matter, rather than by any devices of rhetoric or oratory"—“one possessed of much suavity and charm of manner, with a dislike of pomp or show, but uniting a certain stateliness and dignity with graceful ease of address and a delightful sense of humour”—“one who preaches the gospel of personal culture, and puts cleanliness next to godliness, and good manners next to good morals, setting an example in these things by his own refinement and old-fashioned courtesy of manner.” These are, indeed, but snap-shots of character taken by journalists who regard the new Pope from very varied points of view, but they are the echoes of deep impressions which have been left upon the hearts of a people who have known and loved him for more than half a century. If one trait of his disposition may be singled out as predominantly characteristic, we note that all seem to agree that he brings to the Papacy a heart full of Christ-like sympathy for the labouring and suffering masses. “He has compassion on the multitude.” More than once he has thrown himself as an apostle of conciliation into the disputes between capital and labour. In the great strike of the cigar-makers in Venice, which threatened such injury to the trade of the city, and such stress of suffering and destitution to multitudes of the people, it was mainly by his tact and zeal that a settlement was happily arrived at, and a restoration of peace and goodwill established between employers and workmen. His charity in Venice is proverbial. It is said that his alms-giving is so unmeasured that his steward or *Economo* has had to put him on an allowance. The allowance which ought to last for the month, is generally like a school-boy’s pocket-money, gone in three days. It is well in keeping with the character of one who was called to the Chair of his great fellow-countrymen, St. Laurence Justinian, that more than once the episcopal ring of the chief pastor of Venice was in pawn, in order that the cry of indigent poor should not be left unheeded.

The welcoming cry *in urbe* has been taken up *in orbe*, until it has resounded over the whole earth. The outburst of joy which in the Piazza of St. Peter’s hailed the acclamation of Pius X. from the Loggia of the great Basilica has

had its echo in every home and hamlet of the Catholic world. As the celebrated Adam Marsh, in the name of the University of Oxford, declared to Innocent IV. at his accession, more than six centuries ago, and in words more fervid than our own, there is no quarter of the globe in which that joy will have been more cordial or more passionately loyal than amongst the Catholics of England. That is an assurance which our new Metropolitan will gladly carry to the feet of the Vicar of Christ, when he kneels to receive upon his shoulders the Sacred Pallium which makes him in very truth the successor of St. Augustine, St. Anselm, St. Thomas, and St. Edmund, in all the fulness of the Archiepiscopal dignity.

II.

When we turn from the Pope who has been elected to the Pontificate which lies before him, we pass into the region of speculation, of which the future holds the secret. We can but indicate a few factors which may be said to enter into the forecast.

Happily the throne of Peter, planted on the Rock, has a God-given stability and immutability which marks it off from the kingdoms and empires and sects around it, which are built on the shifting sands of human institution. There is consequently in the Church and the Papacy a large and divinely-given element which will remain unalterably the same, and in which the teaching and action of one Pope will not be found to differ substantially from those of his predecessors. Yet, obviously, as even in the Divine work, the instruments are human. Every Pope carries to the chair of Peter the equation of his individual qualities, and a Pontificate is necessarily coloured by the personality of the Pontiff, and by the conditions and events of the age in which he exercises his authority. If unity in variety be the secret of beauty, it is not difficult to see how, in the Church—the chiefest work of God and the one which reflects most of His infinite beauty—a given evolution of

what is varied and new must accompany the preservation and presentment of what is constant and immutable.

If we could conceive the Divine truth revealed to the mind of man as a precious jewel placed in a casket, the dead material nature of both jewel and casket would preclude all possibility of inward or outward change, and a thousand years might find them both very much what they were when the one was first included in the other. But if we are to conceive the revealed Truth, as we obviously must, not under the analogy of what is dead and mechanical, but as a living communication from the mind of God to the living mind of the Church, it becomes clear that the living truth cannot remain in the living mind without the latter working vitally upon it, grasping it more fully, and seeing more clearly into it. Hence that vital process of the Church-mind acting on the Church-doctrine, which is ever taking place under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

This process has been known at various times by various names. It may be considered actively, or from the point of view of the Church mind which sifts, and in this way it has been called by St. Vincent of Lerins a doctrinal progress or *profectus* which keeps inside the same sense or dogma; or more specifically it has been described by the mediæval schoolmen as the progression of the Catholic mind in the Faith—the *profectus fidelis in fide*—as marked off from illegitimate addition or accretion—the *profectus fidei in fideli*. But it may equally well be considered passively, or from the point of view of the doctrines sifted. In this sense, it had prominent mention at the Council of Florence, in the debates on the *Filioque*, and was called “development” or “unfolding” (ἀνάπτυξις) of doctrine, and was emphatically noted as an evolution from within, to mark it off from the unlawful process which consists in mere addition (προσθήκη) from without.*

* In his remarkable speech in the Council, the Bishop of Rhodes, defending the *Filioque* clause, aptly describes the essential characteristics of legitimate doctrinal development, or ἀνάπτυξις, as distinguished from addition, namely, that it must be an unfolding from within, not the importing of matter from without (ἐξωθεν); or, as he expresses it, that it is a development “not from without, but from those things which lie within”

In the memorable work of Cardinal Newman, this process of development, which is written on the face of Church History from the Council of Nicæa to the Council of the Vatican, has been analysed and stated with a depth and lucidity which were worthy of his genius. It is a process which enters into the very life of the Church at all times, and—apart, of course, from the puerile exaggerations and fictitious modernity which unwary writers have attached to it—it is one which possesses a cardinal importance in the eyes of her theologians and historians. It is one which, while proceeding from light to light in fuller and clearer definitions, never for a moment weakens or evacuates, but on the contrary strengthens and emphasizes, the definitions which have been made in the past. It is one which functions strictly within its own appointed sphere—in *eodem sensu et eodem dogmate*, as the Vatican Council fixes it. It is at work at all times, and the coming Pontificate, like all others, will have its share in its influence. The Holy Spirit, upon whose indwelling it depends, is not only light but love; and consequently throughout the Church's entire life there must ever be a devotional as well as a doctrinal development; and clearer insight and greater precision of dogma should ever bring with it as the test of its truth, a deeper and fuller love of Christ, and a greater intensity of devotion. Mere intellectual movements which have no relation to the spiritual life of the Church, either in their agents or in their influence, belong rather to the domain of naturalism, and are at most currents of thought outside of what believers "in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church," understand by true development.

Besides this process, which we may call the inner development, there is another which is outer, and which may be more fitly termed adjustment. If the mind of the Church were a single or individual one, the process of

(τὰ ἐγκείμενα), and which were contained in the "hitherto underlying matter" (τῷ προϋποκειμένῳ)—that it draws out conclusions which were "enveloped in their premises," or contained "in first principles," and that it is simply a transition from the implicit to the explicit. "Even as in any science all the things which pertain to a science or art are virtually contained in its first principles (ἀρχαῖς), so the whole of the Christian teaching and faith is contained implicitly in the Creed—*implicitly*, but not *explicitly*" (συνεπτηγμένως οὐκ ἀνεπτηγμένως)—*Mansi, Concilia. Tom xxxi. 551-570.*

development by which it would gradually obtain a fuller knowledge and clearer grasp of the deposit of truth committed to it, might consist merely in that inner development which we have been considering. But the Church has not only to understand and practise her doctrines, but has a mission to convey her possession to the world, which she has to convince and convert. Hence she has need of methods, of institutions, organizations, and ecclesiastical plant in order to do her work for mankind. And as the world is ever on the move, and the ideals, tastes, and mental speech of one generation always differ in some measure from those of the one which has preceded it, there is always some need of re-adjustment in the methods and machinery by which it has to be reached and influenced. It is chiefly in this outer circle of development or adjustment that every Pontificate may easily find a scope for its individuality, even though it proceed so slowly that its action may resemble a growth or a tendency rather than a stroke or a movement. Yet even here, the compass of alteration within even the longest Pontificate is never likely to be a great, or sudden, or startling one. Principles are eternal, and fundamentally souls and sacraments are much the same at all times: the work of the church militant varies only in accidentals, and the battle waged between the Holy Spirit and original sin is always with us. The element in the Church which is subject to development and adjustment is thus but relatively small compared to that which by its nature is stable and constant. A student of the outward and superficial facts which are caught in the net of Church history, may marvel at how much the Catholic Church of the second century differs from that of the twentieth. A student of Catholic principles and of human nature will probably marvel still more how much they are the same. Be that as it may, the outlook which is before us at the beginning of the present Pontificate, comprising as it does many problems of thrilling interest, is governed by the main conditions of substantial sameness and continuity which control the life and work of the Church as a whole. The Church, like nature, *nihil facit per saltum*, but like nature, she has, while preserving her immutability of law

and identity of elements, an evolution in mind and method and mechanism in which, both by expansion in itself and by adjustment to environment, she fulfils her mission and proceeds upon the path of her age-long progress. The forces of the world by which she is at this moment confronted are those which she has fought from the beginning; but their strategy is more finely developed, and in many ways further pushed home to its logical conclusions. While the main movement is, and has ever been, against the reign of Christ upon earth—the *nolumus hunc regnare super nos*—the front attack for a long time past may be said to be directed steadily against three unities: the unity of the Papacy with a civil principedom; the unity of Church and State, or of religion with official life; and the unity of religious with secular education. In seeking to sever these unities, the world is actuated in some minds by its natural antagonism to Christ, and its aversion to the supernatural; or in others less aggressive by a conviction that its well-being is bound up with an evolution which has for a law of its progress the separation of functions in the various departments of its life and activity, and that things which proceed on the lines of their development, diverge.

The Roman question, the Concordat question, and the Education question are factors of the actual situation which cannot but enter into the solicitude of Pius X. Behind them is the Social question, with manifold and far-reaching issues, and its cry for justice, and the adjustments of the relations between the employer and the employed, between the earth and its owners. And yet further in front is the question of liberty of association, a priceless heritage which has to be defended at all costs for society's sake, as well as for the sake of the Church—which is herself an association—so that the Church may be free to create her manifold organisations of good-doing and social ministrations, and the enormous services rendered to mankind by the religious orders may be thus secured to the future, while providing to society, as far as need be, every reasonable guarantee against the economic perils which wait upon the accumulation of mighty or multiplied corporations.

The remedy for the world's sin, and the solace for the

world's suffering, yesterday, to-day, and for ever, is Christ, Who in His Church remains with us the Helper and the Healer of the nations. It will be, above all, the work of the new successor of St. Peter to continue to take the leadership in bringing Him, the Divine solution of all the problems of the soul and of society, home to the mind and heart of humanity. And this august mission, we may be sure, will be fulfilled, not by putting our trust in princes and the rulers of men ; not by committing the fatal mistake of fighting the world with the world's own weapons, or with the world's own wisdom ; not by reliance on the world's armaments or the world's parliaments ; not by recourse to any of those forceful methods of the strong secular arm, for which the twelve legions of angels were not vouchsafed to us ; not by quest of the world's wealth, or the world's mastery ; not by the fidgetting finger laid upon the wires of the world's diplomacy, but assuredly by that which is our God-given strength, the sweet and searching power of the Holy Spirit, which glows in the Divine truth of our doctrines, and in the radiant purity of Christian lives, which triumphs not in the destruction, but in the conversion of our enemies, and wins in the depth of countless hearts and consciences, in all times and places, the beautiful and bloodless victory of the Church : "Our Faith, which overcometh the world."

J. MOYES.

ART. III.—THE FIRST GATHA OF THE AVESTA.

THE Gāthās have been styled, not inappropriately, the Book of Psalms of the Avesta. The recent researches of Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York,* have shown almost conclusively the historical reality of Zarathustra (Zoroaster), and have fixed his date (based upon the calculations of our English Pehlevi scholar, Dr. E. W. West), at about B.C. 660-583, contemporary therefore with the lives of Solon and Thales.

The language in which these sacred hymns, the Gāthās, are composed differs notably from that of the rest of the Avesta, and is generally held to be a more archaic form of Zend. There is reason to believe, with many modern scholars, that at least some of these psalms are actually the composition of Zoroaster himself, and that most of the rest either proceed from his immediate disciples, or date from times not very far distant from the beginnings of the religion.

But the contents of the Gāthās differ almost more widely than the language from the other parts of the sacred book. Their highly spiritual and devotional character is most noticeable. Their monotheism is of the most pronounced type. Ahura† Mazda, the All-wise Lord, reigns supreme as God and Creator. The spirits that surround Him and form His heavenly court are almost exclusively personifications of His own divine attributes. Especially such are the Seven Amesha Spentas, the "Immortal Holy Ones," or

* *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran.* New York. 1899.
With a short middle syllable—Ahūra, almost like Aura.

archangels, as they have been called—"the Seven Spirits which stand before His Throne." Their names are all visibly abstract nouns, and are used at one time as proper names, at another as common nouns, in such a way as to leave it sometimes doubtful how they should be translated. They remind one of the names of some of the characters in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

No ethnic religion has left us anything so spiritually elevated, so truly and personally devotional, so inspired with a personal veneration and affection for a personal deity, as these Zoroastrian Gāthās. It is a pity that they are not more easily accessible to educated readers. The reason lies chiefly in the extreme difficulty of translation, arising not merely from their archaic and often obscure language, but also from the sequence of ideas not easy to apprehend by the modern western mind. Prof. L. H. Mills, of Oxford, has done more for the Gāthās and knows more about them than any other scholar. He has quite recently published a double translation—metrical and word for word—a work of prodigious learning and labour.* But this metrical version is in itself so closely literal and so lacking in smoothness and poetical diction that it is often difficult to follow, and cannot be called in any sense a popular translation. It will remain, like all Dr. Mills' writings, essentially a work for scholars.

The present is a very modest attempt to render one of the Zoroastrian psalms into fairly readable metrical English, without departing far from the literal sense. It is impracticable to follow exactly the metre of the original; for instance, that of this first Gāthā is a stanza of three lines, of sixteen syllables each, which would be very clumsy in English. I have therefore preferred an equivalent stanza of four lines of six feet, or twelve syllables ($3 \times 16 = 4 \times 12$).

Owing to the reason given above, I have come to the conclusion that it is best to *translate* the names of the Amesha Spentas, or archangels, in all cases using capital initial letters to indicate when they are used as proper names. This seems to me truer to the spirit of the original,

* *The Gāthas of Zarathushtra, in Metre and Rhythm.* Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1900.

and to convey more of this spirit than the ordinary method of merely *transliterating* them by Vohuman, Asha, etc. I have therefore chosen the following renderings of these names (with or without the prefix 'Spirit') :

Vohu Manah :	Good-Mind.
Asha Vahishta :	Spirit-of-Holiness.
Khshathra Vairya :	Spirit-of-Power.
Spenta Armaiti :	Spirit-of-Wisdom.
Haurvatat :	Spirit-of-Health.
Ameretat :	Spirit-of-Immortality.

To these must be added some other spirits, such as Sraosha ("Obedience"), the personification of religious obedience to the Divine Law ; and the very curious Geus Urvan, literally rendered "Soul-of-Kine," the patron spirit who from heaven watches over and protects the cattle. He was originally the soul of the "primeval ox," created by Ahura, but wickedly slain by his enemy, the Evil Spirit. The old myth was utilised by Zoroastrianism in its propaganda in favour of agriculture and cattle-breeding, which is one of the characteristic features of the Avesta, for it must be remembered the Zoroastrian reform was a social as well as a religious one.

The Gāthās occur in that section of the Avesta known as the *Yasna*, or Book of Worship. The first Gāthā forms chap. xxxviii. of the *Yasna*.

THE FIRST GĀTHA.

The prayer of the Zoroastrian preacher for holiness of mind, wisdom and inspiration in his teaching.

I.

With hands in prayer outstretched, this grace I first implore,
The grace of a holy mind, whereby, O Mazda, Lord !
I may bring joy unto all men of virtuous deeds,
Unto Thy Good-Mind's heart and unto Soul-of-Kine.

II.

O Mazda, Lord ! unto ye twain, ah ! let me come—
To Thee and Thy Good-Mind—that ye may give to me
Graces of both the Worlds—the Worlds of Sense and Soul—
For virtue's sake, to fix our blissful souls in glory.

III.

And let me weave for you, Spirit-of-Holiness—
For thee, Good-Mind, for Thee, O Mazda, Lord—such praise
As ne'er before was sung. Sith Wisdom's self for ye
A deathless Kingdom forms, ah ! turn my prayers to joy.

IV.

My heart on heaven is fixed by aid of the Good-Mind ;
Nor e'er can I forget how blessed are the deeds
For Mazda done. So long as health and strength remain,
So long according to His holy Will I'll teach.

V.

Spirit-of-Holiness ! when shall I face to face
Thee and the Good-Mind see, and bounteous Ahura's throne,
And the divine Obedience ? Through this sacred prayer
May we in might ward off the wicked by our tongue.*

VI.

Come Thou, with Thy Good-Mind, Creator of Holiness ;
Give Thou long life, and with Thy words most just
On Zarathusht and us the power of joy bestow,
That we may crush the hate of him that hateth us.

VII.

Spirit-of-Holiness ! this blessing grant—the gifts
Of the Good-Mind ; and Wisdom, to Vishtasp† and me
Grant our desire. Thou, Mazda, with Thy kingly ones,
Givest the grace whereby your sacred words we hear.

* Obscure. Perhaps : "Convert the wicked by our tongue."

† The king who favoured Zoroaster's reform and was converted by him—the Constantine or Ethelbert of Mazdeism. The Greek form of the name is Hystaspes.

VIII.

Thee, Lord Supreme, whose heart with Holiness supreme
Is one, lo ! I implore for this Thy grace supreme
Upon Frashōstra* and myself and upon those
To whom Thou ever grant'st to share in Thy Good-Mind.

IX.

And by these graces, Mazda, may we ne'er offend
Nor Thee, nor Holiness, nor the Good-Mind ; for we
Our best have done to teach your praise to men. Then grant,
Propitious Ones ! our wish—your favour's sovereign power.

X.

Whomso Thou knowest, Ahura, by their holiness
As creatures of Good-Mind and just ; to them fulfil
Their wish with blessings ; for I know your sacred words
Are inexhaustible : give joy and victory.

XI.

That by these laws I may for all eternity
The grace of Holiness preserve and the Good-Mind, do Thou
Teach me, from Thine own soul, by Thine own mouth, to preach
Those laws whereby the world primeval first was made.

✠ L. C. CASARTELLI.

* Prime Minister of Vishtasp, and also a convert.

ART. IV.—MODERN SPIRITUALISM : ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENA.

IN the last number of the REVIEW, after a brief glance at the origin and progress of modern Spiritualism, I stated the grounds on which the reality of its physical phenomena is still held doubtful, giving some reasons also why, even if genuine, they are insufficient evidence in its favour. Granting there is a residue of marvellous facts to be explained by something better than a psychic force not yet proved to exist, when we come to the psychological phenomena fresh difficulties in the way of its acceptance at once reveal themselves—in the first place, of an intrinsic kind arising from the character of the alleged spirit communications. A cursory examination shows that these messages add nothing to our knowledge, and are quite unworthy of the distinguished spirits from whom they often purport to come, being vague, frivolous, inconsistent with themselves and one another, and, as is confessed on all hands, at times profane, blasphemous, and hideously obscene. Further, there is a more plausible theory as to their origin than that which ascribes them to discarnate human spirits, which I will endeavour to indicate.

It is a very pertinent and noteworthy fact to begin with, that all these communications take place through the agency, or at least, where they are affirmed to be direct, in the presence of a medium. They are made by means of raps or "percussive sounds" corresponding in number to certain letters of the alphabet, or significant in some other way, according to a preconcerted understanding; or again, through the utterance of the medium who is entranced, and reports the message of the controlling spirit to the sitters ;

or more frequently still, through automatic writing with the planchette,* or a simple pencil held by the medium, which moves with great rapidity, but without conscious co-operation on his part. As to messages written directly by the spirits on slates or paper in locked drawers, it was pointed out in the last article convincing evidence is still wanted to establish their genuineness. The trance-speaker often reproduces the peculiarities of speech and manner of the controlling spirit during life, if they are known to the medium himself, or to any of the audience *en rapport* with him; and in the same way the automatic writer gives at times a facsimile of his hand-writing. The medium again is sometimes hypnotised by others, sometimes he assumes the trance state himself, wholly, or but partially, so that he seems to be in his ordinary condition. In either case, what are called the subconscious powers of the mind are brought into play, and they act consistently in obedience to a suggestion from without, or to auto-suggestion, *i.e.*, some idea dominating the medium's thoughts. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the hypnotic and other forms of sleep, as also in delirium, madness, and various abnormal conditions, the dullest and most illiterate persons exhibit knowledge and mental powers that are startling, and quite beyond their capacity in an ordinary waking, or sane state. The memory is absolutely perfect. No impression made on the senses (possibly from birth) is forgotten. Any thought or train of thought that has passed through the mind may be and is recovered. Ancient and foreign languages, which when first heard by the subject would have sounded the merest gibberish, are spoken fluently. Vocal music is sung, and instrumental music played, or imitated with modulation and expression as when rendered by a skilful performer. Or the subject will descant on many themes with the acuteness of a philosopher, and the eloquence of a practised orator. Insane patients, who were previously without artistic tastes, have developed

* The planchette is a small board in the shape of a triangle or vertical section of the heart, which, by means of a pencil inserted through it at the apex, and a castor on each of the including sides, moves easily over a sheet of paper, when the hands rest lightly on it.

powers of musical composition, drawing, and mechanical invention. Difficult mathematical propositions are sometimes solved, and verses of a high degree of merit have been composed during sleep. The fragment *Kubla Khan*, produced by Coleridge in an opium trance, is equal to any other verses from his pen.*

These phenomena have only received due attention in the course of the last century. Many undoubted instances of the kind may be found in such works as Sir William Hamilton's *Metaphysical Lectures*, and Abercrombie's *Intellectual Powers*, which with additional cases were

* Of one of the most noted mediums, J. J. Morse, extracts from whose trance lectures still appear in *Light*, Sergeant Cox said: "I have heard an uneducated barman, when in a state of trance, maintain a dialogue with a party of philosophers on Reason and Fore-knowledge, Will and Fate, and hold his own against them. I have put to him the most difficult questions on Psychology, and received answers, always thoughtful and full of wisdom, and often conveyed in choice and eloquent language. Nevertheless, in a quarter of an hour, when released from the trance, he was unable to answer the simplest query on a philosophical subject, and was at a loss for sufficient language in which to express a commonplace idea" (quoted by Dr. Russel Wallace). The Rev. Thomas Lake Harris, the associate of A. J. Davis, and best known in England in connection with Laurence Oliphant and the Brotherhood of the New Light, is also an eminent trance-speaker, and under the control of different spirits, including Dante, has dictated much poetry, which was extravagantly praised by William Howitt. Among other stanzas, the following is given as a favourable specimen in *Modern Spiritualism* :—

"We are shadows, we are shadows
Fading with the night of time,
Till the poppy wreaths we twine
Overcome us in the meadows;
Shrouded in our robes of white,
Phantoms of a fled delight,
Pallid ghosts of memory,
To our children henceforth we."

The even more astonishing Mrs. Tappan, who was considered supreme among trance-speakers, delivered three thousand lectures in the course of fifteen years, on subjects chosen, for the most part, by the audience, and could improvise in verse; *Cremation* being the topic suggested on one occasion.

But all this is paralleled in the case of the somnambulistic girl described by Abercrombie more than seventy years ago, which is too familiar to need transcribing at length (*Intellectual Powers*, p. 225, 12th ed.) She was an orphan of the lowest class, dull and awkward when awake, slow at receiving instruction, quite inferior in point of intellect to her fellow servants, and in particular showed no taste for music. Yet in her sleep she gave a marvellous imitation of the playing of a skilful violinist, who had lodged in the house of a farmer whose cattle she tended when not more than seven years of age, and also of an old-fashioned piano in the house where she was then employed. She sang, imitating exactly the voices of several ladies of the family, and talked in her sleep, descanting with the utmost fluency and correctness on a great variety of topics. In these discourses

discussed more critically by the late Dr. Carpenter in his *Mental Physiology* some thirty years ago ; and endless others, all well attested, have been collected in the records of the Society for Psychical Research. When the senses are locked up in sleep or otherwise kept in abeyance, certain mental powers are strangely intensified and exalted, whilst on the other hand the mind loses, for the time being, some of the higher intellectual faculties and the sovereign control of the will. It is affirmed that it cannot reason *inductively*. It must act the part suggested to it, or follow the thought dominating it, but acts it consistently, or follows it logically, with an acuteness that is truly astounding.†

she showed the most wonderful discrimination, often combined with sarcasm and extraordinary powers of mimicry. Her illustrations were forcible and even eloquent. She was once heard to speak several sentences correctly in French, which she had casually over-heard. At the age of sixteen she began to observe those who were in the apartment, and could tell their number correctly, though the room was carefully darkened. She now became capable of answering questions, and noticing remarks made in her presence, and her observations were so exact and acute that the country people believed her endowed with supernatural powers. This went on for ten or eleven years. But at the age of twenty-one she was found to be immoral in her conduct, and was dismissed from the family. Latterly her conversation during sleep had gradually lost its brilliancy and became the mere babblings of a vulgar mind, often mingled with insolent remarks against her superiors, and the most profane scoffing at morality and religion. It was believed she afterwards went mad. This instance is valuable as an exhibition of the subliminal powers of the same kind as in the utterances of trance speakers, and also of the deterioration often noticed in mediums, and especially in automatic writing, which degenerates into mere drivel and obscenity.

† The erroneous belief in the duality of the human mind, which can be traced back indefinitely among the Orientals, is an imperfect, but distinct recognition of its subconscious powers. It existed among the Chinese 2,000 years B.C.

Mr. D. Christie Murray, in the course of a series of articles contributed to a popular journal, tells us, on the authority of a Hindu scholar, that in the *Yoga Sutra*, written by Patanjali, not later than 300 B.C., the basis of his philosophy is the same as the so-called "New Thought," or Gospel of Self-Hypnotism, with a view to gain control over the subliminal mind by the senses, *i.e.*, through the breath, or by the lungs and the exercise of the will combined. By an apt simile, he likens the mind to an iceberg, one-eighth only of which rises out of the water, and represents the sphere of consciousness, whilst the submerged seven-eighths represent the sphere of its subliminal powers and activities. These latter, it is contended, are the curator of the vast museum of the subconscious memory, and preside over the reflex actions, such as breathing, and the movements which the body has been taught to perform automatically.

The reader will find much ingenious speculation as to the functions of the subliminal faculties in F. W. Myers and Thomson J. Hudson. When Christian Rational Psychology has had time to scrutinize all the facts alleged by empirical investigators, and taken account of the theories based

The two cases I am about to quote, though in a condensed form, will illustrate fully what I have stated, though I must premise that these same subconscious powers can often be called into action to a certain extent by means of the planchette, or by a pencil which writes automatically in the manner described, without the conscious co-operation of

on them, we shall find ourselves on firmer ground. In Fr. Maher's excellent manual, only the general question—whether "latent mental modifications" exist—is discussed (and that in a note), the writer concluding that there is no sufficient reason for denying either in the vegetative, sensuous, or spiritual grades of life, the existence of energies or processes of the soul which do not themselves rise into consciousness (2nd ed., 1893).

Mr. Myers describes an inspiration of *genius* "as a sudden uprush into consciousness of ideas which a man has not consciously originated, but which have shaped themselves beyond his will in the profound depths of his being." The working of the subliminal powers is best illustrated by the feats of arithmetical prodigies or lightning calculators, who, by some process they cannot explain, in a few seconds, and often instantaneously, arrive at a result, which an expert arithmetician can only reach by a long and laborious operation. One of these calculators, Buxton, used to converse freely whilst the sum was working itself out in the depths of his mind.

This power generally lasts only a few years, and has been possessed by men of very different grades of intelligence, from eminent, as in Ampère and Gauss, to very low, as in Dhase or Dase, who could not grasp the elements of mathematics or be made to understand a proposition of Euclid. Mr. G. P. Bidder, the most noted instance in England, retained his power through life. He was a celebrated engineer, and as a parliamentary witness, by a casual glance at the plans of a railway line would detect an error sufficient for the rejection of the Bill.

The faculty of being able to give at any moment the accurate time of the day is met with occasionally, and of telling without calculation the weight of a body or bundle of goods. A gentleman known to me could always turn to the North unerringly. The many-sided genius of Napoleon, with its rapid conceptions, is an excellent example of how much is owed to the subconscious powers. He had an unaccountable faculty of discovering the number of his opponent's forces however concealed; and he stated at St. Helena that he had fought sixty battles, and had learnt nothing from all of them he did not know in the first.

As we should expect, subliminal mentation is oftenest exhibited in literary composition. De Musset said: "On ne travaille pas, on écoute, c'est comme un inconnu qui vous parle à l'oreille." Lamartine spoke in almost identical words. Sir Walter Scott, in dictating one of his novels, let drop phrases which were found to be part of sentences some way ahead. Mrs. Gamp spoke spontaneously to Dickens when in Church. Mozart, who is acknowledged to be a perfect instance of genius and learning combined in equal degrees, says in a charming letter to an enquiring friend, that melodies streamed into his mind; whence and how he could not tell, but it was when he was "entirely alone and in a state of good cheer." The ideas that pleased him he retained in his memory "to turn to account according to the rules of counterpoint, the peculiarity of the various instruments," etc. M. Ribot, quoted by Mr. Myers, thus sums up an examination of similar cases: "It is the unconscious which produces what is vulgarly called an inspiration. Neither reflection nor will can supply its place in original creation. The bizarre habits of artists when composing tend to create a special physiological condition, in order to maintain or provoke the unconscious activity."

the subject, who may in the meanwhile be reading or conversing with those about him.

"The writer once saw Professor Carpenter, of Boston, in a private sitting, place a young gentleman, C——, in the hypnotic state, who was a decided unbeliever in modern Spiritualism. Knowing his love for the classics, and his familiarity with the works of the Greek philosophers, the Professor asked him how he should like to have a personal interview with Socrates. 'It is true he is dead, but I can invoke his spirit, and introduce you to him. There he stands now.' C—— turned in the direction indicated, with a look of the most reverential awe, and the Professor went through the ceremonial of a formal presentation. C—— at once began a series of questions. Hesitatingly and with evident embarrassment at first, but gathering courage as he proceeded, he catechised the Greek philosopher for over two hours, interpreting the answers to the Professor as he received them. His questions embraced the whole cosmogony of the universe. They were remarkable for their pertinency, and the answers were not less remarkable for their clear-cut and sententious character, and were couched in the most elegant and lofty diction. But most remarkable of all was the wonderful system of spiritual philosophy involved. It was so clear, so plausible, so perfectly consistent with itself and the known laws of Nature, that the company sat spell-bound, and some who were not Spiritualists announced their conviction that C—— was actually conversing either with the spirit of Socrates, or with some equally high intelligence. . . . At a subsequent gathering, when a modern spirit was invoked, the manner of C—— changed. He was more at his ease, and the conversation on both sides assumed a nineteenth century tone.

"To prove that the philosophic discourse was evolved from his own mind, C—— was made to ask one of the supposed spirits, where he died, and was informed that it was in Boston. Now C—— was aware that the supposed spirit had lived in Boston, but was not aware that he died abroad. C—— was amused when told of this failure, but when next entranced, reproached the supposed spirit with

deception, and demanded an explanation. Then was exhibited one of the curious phases of subjective (*i.e.*, subconscious or subliminal) intelligence. The spirit launched out into a philosophical disquisition on the subject of spirit communications that not only mollified the young man, but made the spiritists present feel they had scored a triumph. At another *séance* C—— was introduced to a learned and philosophical pig, and was told it was the reincarnation of a Hindoo priest. The pig was able to give an eminently satisfactory exposition of Hindoo philosophy generally, and C——, who had lately been reading some modern Theosophical works, was pleased to find he was in substantial accord with the pig. It is proved by this and similar experiments that just as when a hypnotist suggests to a subject that his back itches, he will follow out that fancied impression; so when a thought is suggested, he will accept the suggestion as his major premise; and whatever there is within the range of his own knowledge and experience, whatever he has seen, heard, or read which confirms or illustrates that idea, he has at his command and effectually uses it; but is apparently totally oblivious to all facts or ideas which do not confirm, and are not in accord with the one central idea. It is obvious that inductive reasoning under such conditions is out of question.”*

The second instance is that of a professional medium; and as Mr. Hudson, who was present, observes, “is a wonderful admixture of genuine telepathic or clairvoyant power, with conscious or unconscious fraud. She was asked to describe the occupation of the sitter, who was quite unknown to her, and had been introduced under a fictitious name. ‘I see a large building,’ she said, ‘with a great number of rooms. In one of these rooms I see you seated at a large desk with a great many papers on it. I see drawings of machinery; you must have something to do with patent-rights.’ This was correct; and the lady continued: ‘But you have another occupation. I see you in your library at home surrounded with books and manu-

* *Psychic Phenomena*, pp. 34-38.

scripts; you appear to be writing a book.' She described correctly all the bookcases and other furniture in the room, and then said: 'I see the pathway by which you have arrived at your present conclusion. It is strewn with rubbish and weeds, which you have thrown aside. But you see a great light ahead, which you are pursuing with the greatest confidence.' . . . After a pause, she added: 'You are making one mistake—you think you are doing it all by yourself. But you are not; you are constantly guided by a great spirit.' When asked for his name, she replied, with the true commercial instinct of the professional medium: 'Come to-morrow, and I will try to give you his name.' The sitter *was* writing a book, and he was sure by his own unaided efforts. He accordingly visited the lady, who was a slate-writing medium. Many communications were written out, but without signature, till the author said, apparently in an aside: 'It must be either A. B. (a friend in Washington) or my brother C. D.' (giving his own name), though he had no brother alive or dead. Immediately a communication was written out, signed by the supposed spirit-brother, that *he* was the inspiring power. But the signature was an exact reproduction of C. D.'s own."

Now it is to be remarked that the medium, in spite of great telepathic power, failed to see in C. D.'s mind the subject of his book, and also that he was imposing on her about his brother. But this is easily accounted for. Probably as to the subject on which he was writing, and certainly as to the imaginary relative, the sitter was testing the medium's power. There was an adverse suggestion—he was not *en rapport* with her, as is necessary for thought-reading.

The late Mr. Jay Hudson, an experimental psychologist, but an acute writer, speaks of the subjective mind (called also the sub-conscious or sub-liminal mind) and the objective mind, and states his belief that they are two distinct entities. This is, of course, opposed to the Catholic teaching as to the unity and simplicity of the soul. But he does not insist upon a real duality, as it in no wise affects his thesis. These two cases will enable the reader to understand the

action of the mind in the hypnotised and similar abnormal conditions, which is so different from that in its ordinary state, that no wonder it seems to the subject himself and to observers that another being has taken possession of or controls him. "When the hands act without the knowledge of the owner, when the mouth speaks words foreign to the thoughts and character of the speaker, the inference is inevitable in an age of faith—that the action and the utterance are to be attributed to alien spiritual powers."*

The true source of such utterances and spirit messages generally seems to be demonstrated in many ways. In the experiments of the Rev. T. H. Newnham, where the Spiritualistic theory was discarded, his wife, who acted as automatist or medium, was not dominated by its suggestions, and affirmed in the trance state that her own brain operated the planchette, and that the communications came from her own brain. A case is quoted in the proceedings of the Psychical Research Society for 1891, where a young girl who was ignorant of Spiritualism ascribed the communication she made through a planchette, of which she had never before heard, to a character she had taken some

* This seeming possession, or dual personality of the mind, is well exemplified in a letter of R. L. Stevenson to F. W. Myers. During the delirium of a fever, a grotesque notion seized, as it seemed, one part of his mind, that a wisp or coil of some kind, existing somewhere, would cure him, if the ends were placed together. The part of his mind which he felt to be *himself* saw the absurdity, and resisted the suggestions of the *other fellow* that he should tell his wife, who was nursing him, to join the ends. The *other fellow*, however, prevailed; and the wife received the instruction, of course, as mere rambling. In the same letter he details two like imaginary struggles, in one of which *himself* stood out successfully (Myers, i. 301).

In the *Dangers of Spiritualism* (pp. 52-58) there is an account of an intermittent but long-continued struggle of a more terrible kind between *ego* and *alter*, where the subject had shattered his mind by dabbling in telepathy and automatic writing, and seemed to be controlled by an unclean spirit. It is painful reading, but I see no evidence that *alter* was a real and distinct entity, any more than the *other fellow* in Stevenson's delirium.

The strangest case, perhaps, of assumption of an alien personality is that of Ansel Bourne, investigated for the S.P.R. by Dr. Hodgson. He was a Baptist clergyman, who suddenly lost his normal consciousness and disappeared from his home in Rhode Island. After wandering through different places, he settled down at Norristown. He rented and stocked a shop with small wares; and though he had no previous experience in trade, carried on business in the most methodical way for six weeks under the name of A. J. Brown. At the end of that time he returned to his ordinary state of consciousness, but remembered absolutely nothing of what had happened in the interval.

time before in a dramatic performance. Professor Janet, a high authority, gives his experience with a patient at the Salpêtrière, who believed himself possessed, and protested against the outrages on religion which the devil, who had crept into his soul and moved his tongue, forced him to commit. The unfortunate man could not be hypnotised, till the doctor, with great address, got him to write automatically, and then, affecting to doubt the power of the malign spirit, defied him to prove it by putting the possessed patient to sleep, which was done at once. In other words, Achille's subconscious mind obeyed the suggestion, and the hypnotic sleep being thus induced, he was soon freed by the doctor's skill "from the tormenting spirit—his own tormenting self."

All this is strongly confirmed by what is known (in connection with Spiritualism) as *psychometry*. A geological specimen, and a fragment of mortar from Cicero's villa were, under test conditions, handed to a medium in a subjective, or partially subjective state, who straight away gave an eloquent description of the formation of the earth's crust, and a vivid account of the daily life of those who once inhabited the Roman dwelling. Hence it was thought to be demonstrated that material things, in common with men, have intelligent souls; which is only carrying the spiritualistic theory to its logical result. Professor Denton, who conducted the above experiment, was an eminent geologist and classical scholar, and his wife and sister, who were the percipients, or subjects *en rapport* with him, were both intelligent and highly educated. Accounts of similar experiments have appeared from time to time in *Light*, where, from pieces of coal, the scenes in the deep workings of the mine and at the pit's mouth were graphically described by the medium, reading them, of course, in the mind of the agent or operator who had selected the specimens.

If this explanation, however, is to be admitted, we must grant that the embodied human soul is possessed of certain supernormal powers, and, in the first place, of *telepathy*. This is defined as the sympathetic affection of one mind by another at a distance, not through the senses, but by some

emotional influence, and is often termed *thought reading* or *thought transference*. Mr. Podmore maintains the evidence for it is not generally accepted as sufficient. It would be more accurate to say, it is not yet universally accepted by those who have gone into the matter critically and dispassionately. He himself allows that Mrs. Piper's trance utterances show some supernormal power, at lowest the capacity to read the unspoken thoughts and emotions of other minds. Mr. Labouchere, one of the most confirmed sceptics as to occult phenomena, believes in telepathy "to a certain extent." Mrs. Piper is an American lady whose telepathic and clairvoyant powers are of the most varied and wonderful character; so much so that Dr. Hodgson, after having examined for years the information given by her in the trance state and by automatic writing as to the living and the dead, is convinced that she is controlled by departed spirits. Mr. Myers agreed with him, but Dr. Andrew Lang is of opinion that the published evidence does not justify this conclusion, which is not accepted by Mrs. Piper herself.

For what is called *clairvoyance*, or the perception of actions, objects, and scenes at a distance, directly and not through the medium of another mind, there is far less evidence. A great deal attributed to clairvoyance can be explained by telepathy. But there are instances based on good evidence, like one vouched for by Professor De Morgan, and another recorded by Dr. Gregory half a century ago, which cannot be explained in that way. A fair summing up of the case for telepathy and clairvoyance by Dr. Andrew Lang will be found under the article "Psychical Research" in the supplement to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

Lastly, there is *clairaudience*, the faculty of hearing strange voices, inaudible to others, but veridical, which Mr. Jay Hudson asserts to be highly developed in some mediums, and others who are not mediums in the ordinary sense. This is the explanation of *premonitions* or warnings from the subconscious to the conscious mind of danger threatening the percipient or those dear to him. There are many instances recorded of this faculty which can hardly

be called into doubt. Two of the most celebrated, viz., the "Daemon," or guiding spirit of Socrates, and the voices heard by Joan of Arc, are fully discussed by Mr. Myers. Mr. Hudson was assured by one of the most eminent lawyers in America that he is often guided in critical emergencies by a voice, which gives him in a single concise sentence the key to the whole situation. All his life it has warned him against impending dangers.

But in telepathy alone, in conjunction with the exalted faculties of the subliminal mind, there seems to be a sufficient explanation of most, if not all, of the psychological phenomena of Spiritualism, especially when the full range of its action is understood. It is asserted, for instance, that the subconscious mind of one man may be affected by the mind of another, without the impression rising up to the surface of consciousness. There it remains till the recipient is put *en rapport* with a thought-reader, or medium of some kind, when it is brought into "objectivity"; or it may be revealed in a dream. I may exemplify this by a case, common of its kind, within my own knowledge. A— had left home, and ceased to communicate with his friends, who had no knowledge of his whereabouts, though apparently his thoughts, in some danger or stress of mind, had reverted to them. A near relative was present at an exhibition of thought-reading, and naturally, on questions being called for, asked after the wanderer. The medium replied without hesitation that he was in a hospital in a distant foreign port named, having just recovered from a severe illness, which was afterwards verified.

No less than 17,000 replies were received in answer to questions circulated widely by the S.P.R. in the investigation of one phase of this alleged faculty. A summary of the report on the "Census of Hallucinations" is given by Mr. Myers among the appendices to the first volume of his work. Whether the telepathic power is latent in every mind, and how far it is capable of development, has yet to be ascertained. That it exists in individuals has been shown beyond reasonable doubt. The failure so often quoted of Irving Bishop, the well-known thought-reader, to give the number of a banknote, which was to be his if he succeeded,

is one of the apparent exceptions, which really do help to prove the rule and explain its limitations. Either Mr. Labouchere had not looked at the note before sealing it in the envelope, and the number was not in his mind to be read; or else, in keeping with the whole theory, his avowed disbelief in Bishop's power, and his public defiance, was equivalent to an adverse suggestion forbidding the discovery. It is well known that in a spiritualistic circle the medium requires a harmonious understanding with the sitters, and also that the hypnotised subject will follow a feigned suggestion as well as a real one.

I have indicated, if imperfectly, I hope at least intelligibly, the theory which is growing in favour as to the solution of the psychological phenomena of Spiritualism. It is true that Mr. Myers, who set out with the object of establishing the thesis that they are due in most cases to the still embodied spirit of the agent or percipient himself, has practically surrendered the whole position, though there is nothing among the infinitude of marvels he relates to warrant his assumption. The Spiritualists are jubilant. And Mr. Myers himself has exerted all his high literary abilities in composing the pæan of victory: "Bacon foresaw the gradual victory of observation and experiment in every department of human study save one. I here urge that that great exception need no longer be made. I claim that there now exists an incipient method of getting at this divine knowledge with the same certainty, the same calm assurance, with which we make our steady progress in the knowledge of terrene things. . . . Observation, experiment, inference have led many inquirers, of whom I am one, to a belief in direct or telepathic intercommunication, not only between the minds of men on earth, but between minds and spirits still on earth, and spirits departed. . . . Is not this a fresh instalment or a precursory adumbration of that truth into which the Paraclete should lead? . . . Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to light. . . . So far as His unique message admitted of evidential support, it is here supported. So far as He promised things unprovable, that promise is here renewed. I venture now on a bold saying: for I predict that in consequence of the new

evidence all reasonable men, a century hence, will believe the Resurrection of Christ; whereas, in default of the new evidence, no reasonable man a century hence would have believed it. 'After the tempest, a still small voice.' One may have listened perhaps to the echoing pomp of some Œcumenical Council thundering its damnation, *Urbi et Orbi*, from an Infallible Chair; and yet one may find a more Christ-like sanctity in the fragmentary whispers of one true soul, descending painfully from unimaginable brightness, to bring strength and hope to souls still prisoned in the flesh."

These are only a few tame extracts from the high-sounding dithyramb with which he concludes his investigations, carried on for thirty years, and announces his conversion to the world. Mr. Myers admits the subconscious or subliminal powers of the human soul. He has taken the lead in investigating and proving their existence. They can no longer be said to be unrecognised by, or outside the border of, orthodox mental science. An indefinite period may elapse before their variety and the full range of their action is ascertained. But what is claimed for them so far is not in contradiction to any known truth or recognised law. They fit in with the facts under discussion, and account for the psychological phenomena, as originating in the subliminal mind of the medium, quite as well as the spiritualistic theory, to which there are many valid intrinsic and extrinsic objections besides those urged in the space at my command.* Without recurring to the possibility or probability of direct diabolical intervention (which, as Catholics, we are quite prepared to admit), they explain how the supposed controlling spirits "are acquainted with every

* Whilst we hold that communication between the living and the souls of the departed, whether in bliss or misery, may, and does take place in the order of God's Providence, it is inherently improbable and inconceivable that it should take place through the methods of Spiritualism, and at the will of the medium or the sitter. If it can be proved in any case that the controlling spirit is a real entity distinct from the medium's own mind, it is obviously the original evil spirit, who is ever inconsistent, now confirming, now giving the lie to the truth revealed by our Lord Jesus Christ. The calling up of the Prophet Samuel's ghost by the witch of Endor, related in the first Book of Kings, lends no confirmation to the spiritualistic claims. The incident has exercised the Fathers and Commentators from Origen downwards. St. Thomas says the explanation of St. Augustine, that it

fragment of our past lives," and their inconsistency, when malicious, in denouncing the folly of the victim they profess to be leading to ruin.† There is a superstition of mysticism and ignorance, and there is also, as Mr. Podmore well says, a superstition of incredulity. But with the latter, however sceptical in other respects, he cannot be fairly charged, if he asks that the spirits should furnish us with some information which is clearly not in the mind of the medium, or of any other living human intelligence.

On one point, at any rate, there is practically a consensus of opinion, and that is the danger of mediumship. "I will venture to say," remarks Mr. Hudson, "that few, if any, of the better class of spiritists will deny that most professional mediums eventually become physical wrecks; many are overtaken by mental derangement, and some by a moral degradation too loathsome to be described. The majority of spiritist mediums are afflicted with nervous disorders, and are hysterical to the last degree." This is certainly true in the main, and the warning is repeated often enough in spiritualistic journals. About the profound mystery of the relations between mind and matter we may guess and grope in vain. But in our present condition, soul and body are meant to co-ordinate and act in conjunction, and our senses and corporal organisation generally are intended to exercise some wholesome limitation in the working of the mind. If, then, a man constantly throws off this salutary restraint, puts into abeyance some of his higher intellectual faculties, and abdicates the sovereign control of the will, thus allowing his abnormal powers, which should be held in check, to run riot, they will master him in the end, as surely as if he were designedly to injure his brain. No wonder he becomes physically, mentally,

was an illusion or phantasm created by the devil, cannot be defended, but afterwards apparently quotes it as tenable. It is clear from the narrative that Saul himself saw no apparition. There is nothing to prevent us believing that it was an hallucination in the witch's mind, or that she described the prophet, and foretold the doom of the king, from reading his own thoughts like a modern medium, or that she was entirely fraudulent. What can be urged for and against this view from the narrative itself and from reference to it in other passages in Holy Scripture, is clearly put by Fr. Hummelauer in his Commentary (*in loco citato*).

† See *Dangers of Spiritualism*, pp. 92 and 96.

and morally a wreck. Without his being necessarily possessed by the evil spirit, he is left a helpless victim to his most malign suggestions, which are, of course, at times a danger to the virtuous mind in its sanest and healthiest state. Mr. Myers believes that automatic writing is harmless except to the self-centred and conceited, who are already inclined to believe themselves superior persons—a large exception surely. But this is not borne out by facts. The author of the *Dangers of Spiritualism* gives some startling experiences of most tragic results that have developed from the practice of automatic writing, whether by means of the planchette or the pencil. I have heard doubt expressed as to their reality, from what seemed the overwrought style of the description. But they may be safely accepted in substance and in detail. Though the author finds no sufficient explanation in the powers of the subconscious or subliminal mind, the facts he relates, out of many collected during a long acquaintance with Spiritualism, should be made known as widely as possible. They are a powerful exposition of this phase of the subject. His remarks, too, on the worthlessness of spirit communications, as well as the evil effects of the whole movement, are admirable and to the point. Still, I think the morbid curiosity and the fascination it has for many, and in consequence the danger, will be lessened, if it is shown that, at least in the great majority of cases, these messages are merely the imaginations of the medium's or automatic writer's own mind.

From their varying character, however, there has resulted a classification of their supposed spirit-authors. Comparing the replies of such as are deemed sage and good, an attempt has been made to formulate some general, if elastic body of doctrine. The Abbé Vacant, a distinguished French theologian, gives the following summary of the chief points of belief enumerated in the works of the late Allan Kardec (M. Rivail), the leading spiritualistic writer in France, which have been to a great extent accepted by Spiritualists abroad. There is a God who is eternal, immutable, all-powerful, and sovereignly good. Jesus Christ is the most perfect model He has given to man to serve as a guide and

example. Spiritualism professes to connect itself with His religion, and to continue His work, applying to itself the prophecy in which He promised to send the Paraclete, or consoling Spirit, after Him. There is no real virtue except sacrifices made for our fellow-men. The indissolubility of marriage is contrary to the law of nature. After death the spirit is reincarnated in the body of a rational being, and these reincarnations are always progressive. There is a continuous approach to the ideal Good, with a corresponding increase of happiness.

The belief in reincarnation is rejected by most English and American Spiritualists. Some of the latter have at times been practically advocates of free love, but this pernicious doctrine has been very generally repudiated in America as well as in England. Andrew Jackson Davis, at the outset of the movement, regarded our Lord as a mere moral reformer; and Mr. Stainton Moses fell away in the end from practical belief in Christianity as commonly understood. As there is no authority to impose any fixed and consistent body of belief, Spiritualists generally hold many articles of the creed in which they have been brought up, and the mediums speak accordingly. Besides the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, the only common tenet in which all agree is the possibility and the fact of communication with the departed. As far as a definite conception can be formed of their idea of a future existence, it is a continuation of the present life, more refined and more exalted, yet still with many limitations and restrictions, a progress through successive spheres to perfect happiness. The modern Spiritualism of to-day, after an opportunity during more than fifty years for eliminating what is gross and sordid, is just what it was described to be in the first decade of its existence by a non-Catholic critic: "Rejecting the Bible as an authority, claiming for all men full inspiration in common with Christ and His Apostles, and of the same kind, regarding sin as an immaturity of development, eschewing all received ideas of a fall of angels and men from original holiness, of total depravity, atonement, regeneration, and pardon, the system is in its last analysis, though but half developed, a

polytheistic pantheism, disguising under the name of spirit a subtle but genuine materialism."

As to the wide extent of the movement, and that it is still spreading, there can be no doubt. I have been unable to obtain any recent statistics. In 1867, the *Spiritual Magazine* considered three millions to be an extreme estimate of the believers in America. We are helped to form some calculation from the number of the periodicals they support. In 1890, there were two leading weekly journals in England, *Light* and the *Medium*, the latter, I believe, subsequently entitled *Medium and Daybreak*, and since discontinued. One of these contained advertisements of sundry meetings in sixty different towns, and eighty different rooms. To judge from the advertising columns and the correspondence in *Light*, there has been a vast increase since the date named. But it is not easy to ascertain the quantity of current literature devoted to Spiritualism, as its organs are not, in my experience, commonly to be found on the ordinary newspaper and bookstalls. The Spiritualistic journals published outside Great Britain about the same time amounted to nearly a hundred. Of these, about thirty were in English, mostly appearing in the United States, some twenty in French, about six in German, and no less than forty in Spanish, many in South America, though few perhaps had a wide circulation.*

Here at home, besides the periodicals devoted to Spiritualism exclusively, the general reader constantly comes across articles in the cheap magazines which advocate its claims. From statements made to me by many priests, private circles are increasing at an alarming rate, especially among the better educated members of the working class, so that it is impossible to exaggerate the danger to the Faith from the still growing movement.

THOMAS CROSKELL, B.A.

* See Mrs. H. Sidgwick's article "Spiritualism," *Encyclopædia Brit.*

ART. V.—MEDIÆVAL HOSPITALS.

SYSTEMATIC sick and poor relief forms, for better or worse, an essential element in modern life, and to-day the "Hospital" is much with us. All that is most characteristic of the present hospital system is modern, yet there is in it much of what the student of institutions calls "survivals," and the "historical" mind turns inquiringly to these from curiosity though hardly for comparison. This article attempts to expose in a general manner the nature of what may be termed, to maintain the constitutional style, the "origins." The name "Hospital" itself in its special application, coming to us from the Middle Age, indicates the period in which these institutions took their rise. The Middle Age is a loose term, but it may be taken to describe the period from the triumph of Christianity to the Reformation, and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the centuries of St. Bernard and St. Francis are generally accepted as representing in its fulness all that is most characteristically mediæval. It was in these centuries that the hospital movement took its greatest development, but the germs of the movement are as old as Christianity itself, and sprang from it.

It has been said that in the ancient world hospitality supplied the place of hospitals; but admirable as was this old-world courtesy, it differed essentially from Christian "charity" in this special application of a wide term. Not only was the spirit different, but as far as can be judged,

there was never any very great development of poor and sick relief in the Greek or Roman, or any of the older Eastern civilisations, and what there was took the form of outdoor relief.*

but { A sort of hospital was sometimes attached to temples of Æsculapius, and in these a combination of medical treatment and religious consolation was administered to the patient, but their object was not distinctly charitable.†

In the first three centuries of intermittent persecution, Christianity could not fully realize itself in externals, and the new spirit of love had to find vent through hidden channels. A hospital foundation would have been an anomaly. Alms were distributed by the deacons, and the sick were tended by the deaconesses, chosen from amongst the widows of over sixty, and later of over forty, years of age. As has been said, these were the first Sisters of Charity and little Sisters of the Poor.

As soon, however, as the Christians received official recognition under Constantine and the need for secrecy was removed, charitable foundations of every kind sprang up in all quarters, homes for the aged, orphan asylums, hostleries for pilgrims and wayfarers, and hospitals proper for the sick and infirm.

Of some of these foundations, which for their size and importance most struck the imaginations of men, we have contemporary record. Such was the hospital founded at Rome, in the year 380, by Fabiola, a Roman matron, an institution whose fame spread "from the Egyptians and Parthians to the cities of Britain." Another even more famous hospital was that created by St. Basil the Great outside the walls of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, which, in the words of St. Gregory, "rose to view like a second city, the abode of charity, the treasury into which the rich poured of their wealth and the poor of their poverty. Here disease was investigated and sympathy proved."

There was attached to this hospital a house for lepers, a class seemingly permanent in Eastern countries, and

* The whole question is discussed rather minutely by Sir Henry Burdett in his *Hospitals and Asylums of the World*.

† See the picture of such a hospital in Pater's *Marius the Epicurean*.

always, to a certain extent, separated off from their fellows, but not hitherto in the spirit of charity. It has been said that Basil was the first who taught "the thoughtless of mankind not to scorn men or to dishonour Christ, the Head of all."

We shall see a wonderful development of this new tenderness in the later Middle Ages.

Thus early too, a class was found separating itself off for care of the sick. A law of the Emperor Honorius mentions six hundred nurses or "*Parabolani*" (a name said to have signified originally readiness to cast themselves into danger of death), as being at the disposal of the bishop in the one city of Alexandria. St. John Chrysostom founded a great hospital at Constantinople, and smaller ones elsewhere, and placed two priests over each, while all the nurses and officials were unmarried. St. Augustine founded a hospital at Hippo—and so innumerable cases might be quoted.

All this was but in accordance with the frequent injunctions of church councils. In the majority of cases, these early hospitals were under the control of the bishops, the natural source of charity, and they frequently stood in the shadow of the cathedrals. Perhaps the most powerful witness to the extent of the movement are the words of an enemy. In the year 363, Julian the Apostate wrote from Paris to Arsacius, the pontiff of Galatia, telling him to construct hospitals in each town after the example of the Christians, and to admit the poor of all religions. These are his words: "Let us cast our eyes on the means taken by the impious Christian religion to spread itself: charity towards the poor, the burial of the dead, holiness of life. After its example, I wish you to construct in every town several hospitals to receive and nourish strangers, not only of our religion, but even those of others if they are poor."

With the fifth century came the descent of the barbarians of the North upon the decaying Roman Empire, in which the one healthy strain was the Christian religion. Through the darkness of destruction and reconstruction which filled the centuries from the fifth to the ninth, it is hard to discern the workings of institutions; but in the comparative brightness of the ninth century, we find Charles the Great

legislating for hospitals as for so many other things. In the year 816, he determined that at each see one canon should always govern the hospital, and that these institutions should be everywhere near the cathedral. The tenth century saw a falling back, but with the eleventh came a new birth of activity, a stirring of interest in every department of life, a true "Renascence," but religious, not merely secular in character.

This movement extended itself over the next two centuries, the period which saw the Crusades, the rise of the reformed Benedictines, the Canons Regular, the universities, the free cities, and the friars. With the renewal of the religious spirit came a renewal of charity, and an immense impetus was given to the foundation of hospitals, as to that of monasteries. The character of these new foundations is much better known to us than that of the older hospitals, and this through the statutes for their regulation, which were drawn up on all sides in the thirteenth century, chiefly by the bishops.*

These statutes give a picture of hospital life at the time. Differences of detail of course there were, but the model for the majority was the rule of the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, a hospital order begotten by the first Crusade, having its mother house in the already existing hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, founded by Italian traders.

The crusading spirit gave rise to many such orders, sometimes half military, half religious, sometimes devoted purely to the care of the sick. The Crusades themselves partly created the need for such orders, for Westerners frequently succumbed to the heat of the East; and, on the other hand, leprosy was probably brought to the West by returning Crusaders. It was not, however, by these orders that the great majority of mediæval hospitals were served. For the most part each nursing staff formed an independent

* That this is the case with French houses has been shown by Monsieur Léon le Grand in his article: "Les Maisons-Dieu: leurs statuts au XIII^e Siècle," in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, of July, 1896, and also in the introduction to his "Statuts d'Hôtel Dieu et de Léproseries, Recueil de textes du XII^e au XIV^e Siècle." Paris, 1901. We have not such a "recueil" for English houses, but the statutes occasionally printed by Dugdale among the hospital charters in the *Monasticon*, generally come from a Bishop.

congregation, leading the monastic life, it is true, according to the rule of St. Augustine, but this rule did not necessarily bind the houses together, or even insure entire similarity of institutions.

In the hospitals, whether thus independent or attached to one of the hospital orders, not one jot of the religious life was abated ; the arduous work of nursing was united with Benedictine asceticism. A general description could not be better given than in the words of Jacques de Vitry, a contemporary, for he died in 1240, after having been Bishop of Acre and Cardinal :

“ There are innumerable congregations both of men and women renouncing the world and living regularly in leper houses and hospitals of the poor, humbly and devoutly ministering to the poor and infirm. They live according to the rule of St. Augustine, without property and in community under obedience to one above them ; and having assumed the regular habit, they promise to God perpetual continence. The men and women, with all reverence and chastity, eat and sleep apart. The canonical hours, as far as hospitality and the care of the poor of Christ allow, by day and night they attend. In houses where there is a large congregation of brethren and sisters, they congregate frequently in Chapter for the correction of faults and other causes. Readings from Holy Scripture are frequently made during meals, and silence is maintained in the refectory and other fixed places and at certain times. . . . Their chaplains, ministering in spiritual matters with all humility and devotion to the infirm, instruct the ignorant in the word of Divine preaching, console the faint-hearted and weak, and exhort them to patience and the action of grace. They celebrate Divine Office in the common chapel assiduously by day and night, so that the sick can hear from their beds. Confession and extreme unction and the other sacraments they administer diligently and solicitously to the sick, and to the dead they give due burial. These ministers of Christ, sober and sparing to themselves, and very strict and severe to their own bodies, overflowing with charity towards the poor and infirm, and ministering with ready heart to their necessities according to their powers, are all the more

lowly in the house of God as they are of high rank in the world. They bear for Christ's sake such unclean and almost intolerable things, that I do not think any other kind of penance can be compared to this martyrdom holy and precious in the sight of God." *

It is only fair to add that the writer complains of abuses in some smaller hospitals, a fact which, however, adds value to the general testimony. This description is borne out and amplified by the regulations found in the hospital statutes. It may be added that the strictest abstinence was maintained in the matter of food and clothing. Not more than two meals were taken each day, and meat was eaten only three times in the week, and not at all in penitential seasons. The religious habit to a certain extent proscribed luxury in dress, but the Jerusalem statutes adds as a further reason that the poor, whose servants they professed themselves to be, entered their house in rags, and it would be a disgraceful thing for the servant to be proud when his master is humble. This is but one example of the attitude taken by the religious towards the poor whom they served. A beautiful clause of the Jerusalem statutes is repeated or paraphrased in nearly all the French statutes at least, of the thirteenth century. It runs: "When the patient arrives he shall be received thus: first having confessed his sins to the priest, he shall be communicated religiously and afterwards carried to bed, and there as a lord, according to the resources of the house; each day before the repast of the brethren he shall be given food with charity, and each Sunday the Epistle and Gospel shall be sung and aspersion of holy water made with procession." All through the epithet of "lords" is applied to the patients, "*domini nostri pauperes*," "*les seignors malades*." Monsieur Léon le Grand, in his article on the statutes of the Maisons-Dieu (the common mediæval French term for hospital, and which has been well translated "God's Hostelry,") says that the origin of this clause is obscure, but surely it is but a re-echo

* "*Historia Occidentalis, caput xxix. De hospitalibus pauperum et domibus leprosorum*," printed by Monsieur le Grand, at the head of his *Statuts*.

of the clause of the rule of St. Benedict : "All guests shall be received as Christ, who Himself has said, 'I was a stranger and you took me in.'"

An injunction not actually found in the Jerusalem statutes occurs in some others, to the effect that "whatever the patient may desire, if it can be obtained and is not bad for him, shall be given to him until he is restored to health."

Although this clause does not actually occur in the Jerusalem statutes, the indulgence seems to have been part of the practice of the order, so much so that the anxiety of the brothers of the Order of St. John, to satisfy at all price the whims of their patients, became proverbial and gave rise to a pretty legend.

Saladin, desiring to prove for himself this reputed indulgence, disguised himself as a pilgrim and was received among the sick in the Jerusalem hospital. He refused all food, declaring that there was only one thing he fancied, and that he knew they would not give him. On being pressed, he confessed that it was one of the feet of the horse of the Grand Master. The latter, on being acquainted with this fact, ordered that the noble animal should be killed and the stranger's desire satisfied. Saladin at this point, thinking the experiment had gone far enough, declared himself. Such generalities, however, though very edifying, do not satisfy a natural curiosity as to what sort of nursing and treatment was as a regular thing given to the mediæval patient. The picture can only be given in outline and must be pieced from many sources.

The statement of the motive of charitable foundation does not give much information, differing little from the general formula found in charters of purely monastic foundations—the salvation of the soul of the founder, of his family, his friends, his king, or of all the faithful living and dead. Yet it is apparent that the main object of hospital foundations was to give relief, and the merely human pity breaks out occasionally even in the formal records. We find the merchant founder of Elsing Spital, near Cripplegate, London, stating in his very charter that his "heart is wrung more," "*viscera mea gravius torquentur*," by the poverty of the blind, and especially blind and paralytic

priests, than of others, and so he gave the preference to these. The mediæval man was not so contemptuous of the body as is sometimes believed, and genuine if rough attempts at merely corporal comfort were made.

It is unnecessary to say that the science of medicine was not as yet very far advanced, and beyond bleeding and the administration of a few simple drugs, little could be done to cure a patient. A regular surgical and medical service was not, as a rule, found in the hospitals before the sixteenth century. What the mediæval hospitals provided was nursing, food, rest, and religious consolation. As far as one can judge, the best that the age afforded was given to the sick. In judging of its adequacy, it must be remembered that the standard of comfort in all departments has risen immensely. The supply of food was to be unlimited as far as health permitted, and the quality of the best. At the Hôtel-Dieu of Angers, the rule was that the brethren and sisters and patients should partake of the same bread and wine, except in the case of the weakest, to whom better quality should be given. The Jerusalem statutes provide that fresh meat shall be given to the patients three days each week, and jelly to those unable to take meat. The weakest were tempted with more delicate meats.

At the time when the patients were eating, all brethren and sisters not otherwise engaged were to hasten to wait on them. No brother or sister was to dare speak sharply to any patient who should grumble at the food offered, but these should correct him sweetly if possible, if not bear with him patiently and see if they could give him what he wanted, and this because of his necessity.

Again, the statutes are full of provisions as to the beds, coverings, etc. The beds were to be of the best length and breadth for repose, and each should have its coverture and its sheets all clean. In some hospitals little beds were provided for children born in the house, and not the least interesting feature of the mediæval hospitals is that in many of them children thus born were, in the case of their mother's death, kept in the house until an age varying from seven to ten years. At the great hospital

of St. Bartholomew, London, the former was the age prescribed.*

This seeming confusion of functions, the combination of hospital and orphan asylum, appears to us curious, but the institutions of the Middle Ages were less rigid than ours. One is surprised at the variety of elements found in many of the hospitals. Much depended, of course, on the size of the hospital and the nature of the population from which it drew, and then again on the will or caprice of the founder. Some hospitals were like small colonies and elaborately divided off. At a great institution like that of Dijon, provision was made not only for children and the sick, but also for the aged poor, who were probably maintained until their death. For the dead of all classes in all houses, due rites were performed. Never was body given to burial until Mass had been celebrated for the soul of the deceased, if this could be done without danger. The cemetery was as essential a part of the hospital plan as was the chapel. A word or two as to the character of the hospital buildings may not be out of place. Built for the most part when Romanesque was passing into Gothic, or when Gothic was at its best, the hospitals, as can be seen from those still in existence and from remains, were marked by great beauty and even luxury of architecture. Of course, it would not enter into the mediæval mind to build otherwise. The description given by our own chronicler Eadmer, monk of Canterbury, of the buildings of the hospital of St. Gregory in that city, would serve for the greater number: "A stone house seemly and commodious," "*lapideam domum decentem et amplam construxit*" (Lanfranc).

The great dormitories and other rooms used by patients or religious were built with vaulted roofs, and presented an ecclesiastical aspect. In the greater hospitals, interior sculpture was found just as in churches, and one can imagine the curious joy with which the mediæval patient must have examined grotesque and ornament. The chapel adjoined the dormitories of the sick, forming, as it were, the

* On the other hand, foundlings were not always received; the statutes of the Hotel le Comte, at Troyes, declared that their maintenance was a function of the parish churches.

centre of the whole group of buildings; and one may suppose that the convalescents, at least, attended the offices in person. (Patients were generally maintained in hospital a week after their recovery, for greater safety). Sometimes, indeed, one end of the dormitory itself formed a kind of chapel, the altar being raised a few steps and visible to the sick.

Whatever the arrangement, the patient must have felt himself very closely in touch with things ecclesiastical. All the statutes prescribe visitation of the infirm by the priest in his choir vestments bearing the Blessed Sacrament, and preceded by a clerk with cross, lights, holy water, and bell. This must surely have been when a patient was to communicate. The question of space accommodation arises in connection with the subject of the buildings. The vaulted roof is considered a good form for ventilation; and though this was to a certain extent obviated by the absence of any artificial means of ventilation, beyond the great chimney, and also by the solidity of the stone walls, it has been shown that the cubic space available for each person, even in times of over-crowding, was greater than that in modern hospitals. Monsieur Tollet, in his book *Les Edifices Hospitaliers*, complains of the tendency to neglect height in the buildings of to-day. He is not, of course, an admirer of mediæval hospital arrangements in general; but from the accounts he and others give, there seems to have been a very fair attention paid to the more obvious aspects.*

* This question as to the adequacy of accommodation, like many of the practical questions on this subject, cannot be very easily decided. It may fairly be assumed that the actuality and the theory (represented by the statutes) were, to some extent, divergent, and variations from place to place and period to period were inevitable. Monsieur Tollet, valuable for facts, seems less so in his *Considérations Générales*. He takes a pessimistic view of the workings of the mediæval hospital system which his own evidence scarcely seems to justify. That in time of plague the hospitals were over-crowded, one may well believe; that at Paris, even in normal periods, there was considerable pressure we may similarly grant; but Paris can hardly be regarded as a type, so great must have been the demands of the heterogeneous and ever-changing population of the capital of France, and in one sense of Europe. It is probable that patients here and elsewhere not uncommonly were expected to share a bed with another, but this may not have proved too uncomfortable to the mediæval, who was not fastidious. It is significant of the exceptional position of the Hôtel-Dieu at Paris, that in the year 1180, it let off one room to eighteen poor scholars, not permanently however; for by 1231, a separate building had been found for the College des Dix-huit.—RASHDALL, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*.

Often two rows of windows ran round the dormitory, and when the beds were screened off from each other a gallery between the two rows of windows was used partly to keep off too great a flood of light, and partly for purposes of superintendence.

The statutes provide for a good supply of night nurses. The rooms of the sick did not open on to the open court or garden, but were approached by other rooms, or by a porch, to prevent a too immediate contact with the outer air. The patients were seemingly well protected against cold, and were provided with cloaks and boots to put on if they had occasion to rise. The kitchens, bakehouses, wash-houses, etc., are generally found on the outer ring of buildings and far from the quarters of the sick, though a more ideal system is the modern, where many of the functions for which these buildings were used are not performed in hospital.

There was always a porter, probably at the main door; if it happened to be one of the brethren, he could receive the sick applying for admission. If it was only a servant, he notified the master or prioress. The statutes of Angers say that the latter is to go herself without delay to receive them, or send one of the sisters, "not severe or hard, but kind of countenance." There seems to have been little restriction as to the number and character of the persons to be received. "The number of the sick is not to be defined, for the house is theirs, and so all indifferently shall be received as far as the resources of the house allow." Many hospitals sent forth scouts so many times each week into the highways and byeways to gather in the sick and infirm. § Of course, this does not apply to such hospitals as by the deeds of foundation were fitted for the permanent accommodation of a fixed number of persons. Such foundations were numerous and took the form of almshouses, which are hardly to be considered as hospitals in the modern sense, or more especially of houses for lepers.

These *léproseries*, or lazar houses, formed a large proportion of the hospitals. They did not differ in essentials from the hospitals for the sick, except in this permanent character

of their inmates. They were merely houses of seclusion, and cure was not attempted.*

In the early stages of the disease, at least, the lepers seem to have been fairly normal, as far as appetite and activities go. They seem to have been able to eat and work like ordinary people. It was the loathsome character of their disease and the fear of infection which caused their seclusion. Although many modern pathologists seem inclined to call in question the contagious nature of tubercular leprosy, it was never doubted in the Middle Ages, and very rigid seclusion was practised.†

The leper hospitals were generally built outside the towns, and near a stream or spring unused by other people. The leper was regarded as struck by the hand of God, and as even in a special manner designed for the religious life. "Since God has visited you among his children by a sign of greater love, lest so great a gift be lost, we enjoin on you reformation of manners and regularity of life." So Walter, bishop of Tournay, begins his legislation for the Léproserie of Lille. The preamble to the statutes of the Hospital of St. Julian's, founded by Jeffrey XVI., Abbot of St. Albans, expresses the mixture of loathing and reverence which the disease seems to have inspired. Gravely he insists on the sign of God set upon them, and reminds them that they are as outcasts, quoting the ordinances for the treatment of lepers laid down in Leviticus. Yet they ought not to despair, but rather to praise and glorify God, who deigned Himself to be compared to a leper. Let them call to mind the state of holy Job.‡

The lepers formed in many cases a real part of the religious community, assiduously attending office, the learned reciting the hours like the clerks, the unlearned saying a certain number of Paters and Aves, as did the lay

* Sir J. Y. Simpson, *Archæological Essays*, vol. ii. "Lepers and Leper Hospitals in Scotland and England."

† Monsieur Tollet compares the moderns with the mediævals in this respect, to the advantage of the latter; on the other hand some qualification must be made. Sometimes foundations were made for houses to shelter both healthy and leprous. See *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vii., 649; "Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen at Lynne." One may, however, suppose that the lepers lived apart.

‡ Dugdale. *Monasticon Ang.*, vii., 618.

brethren and sisters guiltless of all Latinity. The lepers met in chapters and were subject to correction, for they seem to have been men often of strong passions, and perhaps also they took less kindly to the religious life than did those voluntarily seeking it. It seems to have been necessary to restrict them in all manner of ways, which surprise the modern mind accustomed to regard the disease as a thing abnormal and apart from all vanity. The St. Julian patients are commanded to dress plainly with tunic and over tunic of russet, the sleeves closed to the hands and not laced with threads and knots, after worldly fashion. The over tunic was to be closed, too, down to the feet, and a closed cape of black cloth, not to fall below the hood, was prescribed. Shoes were to be worn, but laced with three or four knots, and not the low sort with only one knot. All through the statutes, for healthy and sick brethren alike, as in monastic constitutions generally, one is struck by the graduated system of punishment which waited on relapse. It only bears witness to the strength of passion to be overcome, and throws into greater relief the beauty and tenderness of those lives of renunciation.

The status of the leprous varied from hospital to hospital according to their endowment. In some, they received all that was needful for their support; in others, a portion of the revenue was assigned to each, and if this did not suffice, it could be eked out by private resources, which took chiefly the form of begging, either at the gate of their hospital or of the town.

A class of hospital which was not very common in the Middle Ages was the hospital for the insane. Insanity, both in ancient and mediæval days, was much rarer than it is to-day; and though in the early Christian period treatment of the insane made great progress, so much so that it is doubtful whether its theory is surpassed in our own time,* there was a falling off in the "Dark Ages," and there is not much evidence of a revival.

We have record of some early asylums as of the hospitals proper. Such was that founded at Constantinople in 321, and that at Jerusalem in 495; and it was with Paulus

* Burdett, *Hospitals and Asylums of the World*.

Ægineta, in the seventh century, that diagnosis and treatment reached their highest development, but there was not any great revival in the later Middle Ages as there was of the hospitals proper. The early methods were not revived, and though new foundations were made, probably little was done in them to effect a cure. The foundations for "poor and silly persons" formed but a small proportion of the whole number of hospitals. The number of these, in proportion to the population, was very great. Of the something like sixteen hundred hospitals existing in France, four hundred and eighty date from before the sixteenth century. This would seem to have provided for a larger proportion of the existing population. Of course, the great scourge of leprosy has passed away, and indeed had practically gone in the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth, the French *léproseries* were suppressed, and their goods given to other hospitals. In England, at the time of the visitation of the monasteries, the lazar houses were found, for the most part, without patients, or with patients other than lepers, and were suppressed, as were indeed the greater number of the five hundred and nine hospitals which are recorded, and which probably do not represent the whole number. Sometimes they were maintained and handed over to lay administration, but the greater number shared the fate of the monasteries proper. It was the alms-houses rather than the hospitals proper which were maintained, though many of these too fell.

In countries which did not succumb to the reforming movement, there was not this sudden break with the past; yet in France, already in the sixteenth century, there was a tendency to secularisation, at least as far as financial administration is concerned, and elsewhere there was evolution towards newer things, changes greater or less and for better or worse, and ever more variety. The mediæval type was fairly constant; and with all deference to the progress of medical and sanitary science, one cannot but look back admiringly, even a little regretfully, on the charitable foundations of mediæval Europe, for, as Abbot Gasquet has quoted somewhere in comment on the Middle Ages, "the life is more than the meat."

ELIZABETH SPEAKMAN.

ART. VI.—THE CONCORDAT OF 1801.

PART I.—HISTORICAL.

Documents sur la négociation du Concordat et sur les autres rapports de la France avec le Saint-Siège en 1800 et 1801. Par le COMTE BOULAY DE LA MEURTHE. Paris : Ernest Leroux. 1891-1897.*

La Diplomatie Pontificale au XIX Siècle. Par le PÈRE HILAIRE RINIERI, S.J. Traduction de l'Abbé J. B. Verdier. Paris : P. Lethielleux. 1903.

I.

THE curious prophecy which Tasso made in the *Gerusalemme Conquistata*, 1593, was fulfilled with singular completeness two hundred years after.

The Revolution of the sixteenth century struck at Catholicism ; the Revolution of the eighteenth at Christianity. A hundred years ago the movement of ideas whence it sprang was checked, but not destroyed. As it is renewing its life now, a consideration of the steps which successfully stayed it then may not be without interest.

Since the Middle Ages the laws of the Church had, in France, been the laws of the State. The Revolution

* Consalvi closes his *Mémoires* on the Concordat—written in exile at Rheims ten years after the event—thus: "Si . . . il se trouve des circonstances particulières mais non essentielles toutefois, qui ne sont pas entièrement conformes aux dépêches et aux relations que j'adressai à cette époque au Saint-Siège, il est évident qu'on doit préférer les premières à ce récit ; car après un intervalle de dix ans la mémoire peut faiblir." Many details in this paper will be found to differ from the *Mémoires*. They are, however, founded on the "dépêches" and "relations."

destroyed that alliance. From 1614 to 1789 the States General never met. So desperate had become the financial distress of the country, that in 1787 the privileged classes, nobility and clergy, spontaneously renounced all exemptions from public charges : a spirit of loyalty accentuated in 1789 by sacrificing all their privileges without reserve. But even this did not satisfy the new spirit. Louis XVI. was too inexperienced in the ways of turpitude to cope with it. France became the "huge reservoir whence the waters of blood of the Revolution overflowed the world."

On October 10th, 1789, Talleyrand moved in the Assembly that all property of the clergy should become National property. A decree gave effect to this. The sale of four hundred millions of such property was decided. The following year conventual and monastic life was abolished. The 136 dioceses of France were reduced to eighty-three. Benefices, priories, and abbeys were confiscated. On November 27th, the civil constitution of the clergy—which, on the authority of Thiers (in this instance non-suspect), was the work of the Jansenists—became law. By it, bishops and parish priests were to be chosen by the electoral assemblies of the Departments, *i.e.*, by the people—Jews, Atheists, Christians. Bishops thus elected were to proceed without Pontifical confirmation, being confirmed by Metropolitans. Before consecration, all were publicly to take a stringent oath of fidelity to the new order of things. No bishop was to have governmental jurisdiction in his own diocese without consent of his Council. The parish priests to choose their curates with or without approval of the bishop. No foreign bishop was to interfere with the Church in France, without prejudice, however, to union with the head of the Church. By this law the Pope had no jurisdiction in France : the bishops became salaried functionaries of the State. All bishops and parish priests refusing this oath were to be deprived of office, and if persisting, were exiled. All the bishops but four—one being an archbishop—refused the oath ; as also did 50,000 of the clergy. "Par ma foi," exclaimed Mirabeau, "si le profit est pour nous, il faut en convenir l'honneur est pour eux." The first of the new bishops elected by the people

were consecrated by the excommunicated ex-Bishop of Autun—Talleyrand.

On April 13th, 1791, Pius VI., by the Bull *Caritas*, condemned the civil constitution, forbade taking the oath, declared null the elections of new bishops, and suspended those who had been consecrated.

The Republic being founded, civil marriage and divorce were introduced. The Convention abolished Catholicism, the religion of centuries—and the worship of Reason was inaugurated in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame. Churches were closed, or turned to secular uses; all outward signs of religion were forbidden. The faculties of Theology, Medicine, Law, and Arts were suppressed throughout the Republic. On March 31st, 1794, the existence of God was publicly denied. The Atheism of Diderot and d'Helvetius triumphed. If, later, the Deism of Voltaire and Rousseau regained ground, it was only a nominal change. The spirit remained the same. Diderot's hopes, in *Les Eleuthéromènes* :—

" Et ses mains, ourdissant les entrailles du prêtre,
En feraient un cordon pour le dernier des rois,"

were realised with terrible completeness, as regards priests, in the September massacres. They made a clean slate of priest, altar, God, and Christianity.

The Directory followed the lurid Convention. The latter had decreed death to the priests, and saw to its being mercilessly carried out. The Directory treated them only less brutally. The words of Bailley, "*Quand la loi parle, la conscience doit se taire,*" became a rule of life.

Carnot sent three armies against Austria. Bonaparte commanded the third, that of Italy. To save Bologna and Rome, Pius VI. obtained the truce of Bologna, 1796, by paying twenty-one million francs and works of art, in addition to contributions exacted from Bologna, Ferrara, and Faenza. The Pope having refused to withdraw his Briefs against the civil constitution of the clergy at the bidding of the Directory, they declared the truce broken, and Bonaparte seized Ancona. Deserted by all his allies, save Naples, the Pope asked for peace. A treaty, even more disastrous than that of Bologna, was signed at

Tolentino (1797). The Pope ceded Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna; paid thirty million francs, besides horses and food for the army of occupation. Jewels, ornaments, and church vessels had to be sold to meet the payment.* Cruel as were these terms, they were less ruinous than the instructions Bonaparte had from the Directory. Its wish was to annihilate the Papal throne, but the young General stayed their hand.

Joseph Bonaparte was appointed French Ambassador. Acting under explicit instructions from the Directory, he provoked revolutionary riots, during one of which a French General, Duphot, was killed (1797). In a letter to the First Consul, written by Cacault, when representing France in Florence, 1801, he says: "Le général a été imprudent, tranchons le mot, il a été coupable." Berthier, nominally to avenge this death—but as he himself wrote, "for financial reasons," *i.e.*, pillage—seized Rome and proclaimed a Republic. The aged Pontiff, driven from Rome, hounded through Italy, dragged through France, died at Valence in his eighty-second year. In nothing of this had Bonaparte a hand. He was in Egypt.

When, in 1797, Bonaparte created the Cisalpine Republic at Milan, Italy lay at his feet. When, in 1799, he hurriedly returned from Egypt, the Cisalpine Republic had collapsed; the Parthenopean Republic at Naples had effaced itself and received back the King; and the Roman Republic had dissolved on the Pope's return. Italy was lost to France.

By the *coup d'état* of the 18 Brumaire, an VIII. (Nov. 9th, 1799), Bonaparte became First Consul; Cambacérès, a jurist and moderate, Second Consul; and Lebrun, inclined to constitutional royalty, the Third. Talleyrand had Foreign Affairs, and Fouché (who "effected some good and a great deal of evil"), Police.

* Remembering these immense losses, it is very striking that during the whole negotiations for the Concordat not a single suggestion of restoration of its provinces or temporal benefit ever was made by the Papal Court. So purely religious was the Pope's aim that when, after the Concordat, Cardinal Fesch, on behalf of the Emperor, suggested restitution of the three provinces, if the Pope would accept the organic laws and the intruded bishops, Pius firmly refused it.

The following year Bonaparte opened the second Italian campaign : entered Milan and re-established the Cisalpine Republic—Milan, Modena, Ferrara, Bologna, and the Romagna. His victory at Marengo placed all northern Italy once more in the power of France.

When at Milan Bonaparte is generally supposed to have spoken at some length to the clergy, as the defender of religion, which he declared to be the most solid basis of social, political, and moral life. The authenticity of this speech has been impugned. At any rate, after Marengo he attended a solemn *Te Deum* at Milan Cathedral in full dress ; and wrote to his fellow consuls : “. . . To-day, despite what our Paris Deists may say, I go with full ceremonial to the *Te Deum* they sing at the Cathedral.” Passing through Vercelli he conversed with Cardinal Martiniana, with the result that the latter wrote to the Pope that Bonaparte had in mind the restoration of religion in France, and wished him to place the matter before his Holiness.

II.

Bonaparte's scheme, as outlined in Martiniana's letter to the newly elected Pius VII., was this : Both the exiled and constitutional bishops to resign. New ones to be chosen by the Government and instituted by the Holy See. The bishoprics to be reduced as far as possible. The alienated Church property to remain in present hands ; but, as indemnity, an annual sum to be paid by the Treasury to bishops and clergy.

This was the young conqueror's idea. Having conquered anarchy, he, whose youth had been passed amid religious apostacies and profanations, whose life had been surrounded with scandals we cannot name, determined to recover the country's lost dignity, to recall its Government to civilisation, by making religion the basis of its political edifice. The “*Rendez-nous notre Dieu*” of “the giants” (his own expression) of La Vendée, had penetrated beyond his ears. “*Je leur rendrai tout cela,*” he himself declared to the Abbé Bernier. That was not, however, the idea of the French

Government. If they were forced into the re-establishment of Catholicism in France, it should be without any of the prerogatives it formerly enjoyed, while demanding for themselves all prerogatives enjoyed by the former Kings of France.

The Pope chose Mgr. Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, who had followed Pius VI. into exile and watched over his last hours, to proceed to Vercelli and explain fully the intentions of the Holy See. A congregation of five Cardinals considered, and gave him, his instructions. But feeling that at Paris they would have him at their greater advantage, isolated, so to speak, from his base, the Government summoned him there. Under these new conditions the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi, instructed Spina, "*udire e riferire*," to watch and report. His duty was, dealing only with spiritual matters, to examine the ground, test its soundness, and narrow it within acceptable limits. This was necessary, as Rome was warned by Labrador, the Spanish ambassador, that France intended to make political capital out of the affair. With Père Caselli, a former General of the Servites, as theologian, Spina arrived in Paris, November 5th, 1800.

III.

"In seeking to reconcile the France of Rousseau and Robespierre to the unchanging policy of the Vatican," says Mr. J. Holland Rose, "the 'heir to the Revolution' was essaying a harder task than any military enterprise. . . the most difficult negotiation of his life." Knowing this, he had hoped for a Cardinal-ambassador with all possible pomp, as usually accredited to a European Court. A mere archbishop, and only as delegate, was a keen disappointment. But so pressing was his desire for the re-establishment of law and order on a new political basis, that, despite the multitude of affairs harassing him, he urged the opening of negotiations.

That the object of the French Government in the coming negotiations was entirely a political one—to keep the clergy

in a "suitable" dependence, and so to link the ecclesiastical establishments to the Republic, that they should be supports to the public harmony and prosperity of the State—is clear from a report of Hauterive, one of the principal councillors of the Government, printed by De la Meurthe. There was therefore at the outset a conflict between Napoleon's idea and that of the Government. He was surrounded by Jacobins. Not only had he to overcome their opposition to the idea of any re-establishment of religion, but he had to fight, inch by inch, for the only basis he thought durable. This opposition was as active and unscrupulous as it was persistent. To the hordes of Atheists, amateur and otherwise, and the constitutional and married priests, are to be added the many officers, his companions in arms, who were no less vehement, some of whom contemplated his assassination.* It was Consalvi's opinion that Bonaparte was the only one who really wished the re-establishment of religion. "On croirait difficilement les résistances que j'eus à vaincre pour ramener le catholicisme. . . on m'eût servi bien plus volontiers si j'eusse arboré la bannière protestante," we read in the *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*. That he did not succeed in bringing the Government quite to his views does not detract from the truth of the Duc de Ragusa's words: "Il fut presque seul de son avis." That it really was his victory is proved by the bitter enemy of the Concordat, Talleyrand, who acknowledged it was "un des traits de son génie."

The First Consul chose as his negotiator the Abbé Bernier. A clever diplomatist, he had refused the oath of civil constitution, and had been one of the most ardent of the Vendean chiefs. He was a strong Gallican. The first demand of the French Government was that all bishops who had refused the oath, be invited to resign their sees, and on refusal that the Pope should appoint administrators in their place, with right of succession. Spina parried this by insisting that the basis of any agreement must be a declaration that Catholicism is the dominant religion of the State, and that all laws directly contrary to its dogma and

* Pasquier's *Mémoires*, vol. i., 128; also Marmot's *Mémoires*, book vi.

rules be entirely abrogated. Rome was not likely to forget it was treating with the ruthless dictator of Tolentino ; with a revolutionary Government who had harried Pius VI. to the grave ; that the Bourbons might return ; that there had been a Joseph II. ; nor that Vienna, Munich, Palermo, and Madrid were jealously watching every move. And the demand was equitable : twenty-seven of the thirty millions inhabitants of France had held it uninterruptedly for fifteen centuries. Bernier rejoined by submitting the first of the seven projects, which were discussed before the final one was accepted. Although this contained something approaching the substance of Spina's demand, it was too ambiguous. By the end of December Bernier drafted a second, in which fuller, but not complete, approach was made to Spina's ideas. But Spina remained firm. Early in January, 1801, therefore a third project was devised by Bernier. This, with some minor modifications, Spina probably would have accepted, but a change came over the negotiations. Hitherto we can trace the hand of Bonaparte. Now the Government, alarmed at the progress towards re-establishment, suddenly insist, as a preliminary basis of further discussion, that the bishops who had taken the oath, the Constitutionals, should be recognised and re-established in episcopal dignity by the Holy See. Further, that they should be—they were schismatics—on equal footing with the legitimate bishops—those who had accepted exile rather than take the oath. It was insisted on, also, that the latter should abdicate. The favourable third project was therefore withdrawn by its originators, and a fourth presented. Not only was this less acceptable, but the tone of the French negotiations became less tolerant. It is clear from Bernier's letter to Spina, covering the new project, that it was the Republic, rather than Bonaparte, who not only exacted these conditions, but their immediate acceptance. Spina energetically repulsed this first of a series of unworthy attempts to force him. Bernier's tone hardened ; he urged more strenuously, and with some bitterness ; concluding with the instruction of his Government, "to demand an immediate and precise reply, as upon it will depend the rupture or continuation of the *pourparlers*." The Arch-

bishop's position was not only delicate, but serious. Cut off from Rome, with the collected forces of French statesmen, legists and apostates fighting him, the move of bringing him to Paris was clearly unveiled, and as clearly justified Consalvi's suspicion. He asked for passports for a special courier to Rome that he might submit the project and obtain instructions. Bonaparte granted this on January 26th; but Talleyrand delayed the document for a month, February 25th. Meanwhile Spina had sent all four projects to Rome through the Spanish Embassy at Paris.

The French Government persuaded itself that Spina's successive refusals to approve any of the projects were subterfuges by the Pontifical Government to free its States of war by rocking France into a false security. Bonaparte declared too that he began to doubt "Italian loyalty," *i.e.*, Pius VII. and Consalvi. Finding Spina impervious to cajolery or threat, he determined himself to send an envoy extraordinary to Rome with powers, "spiritual and temporal," to settle and sign the convention there with the Pope. One more attempt, however, was made upon Spina with a fifth project. This was the worst yet devised. It reduced the position of Catholicism in France to mere toleration. No wonder this drifting further from Bonaparte's original intention produced a "sad impression" on Consalvi, who might very well doubt if the First Consul could longer control the atheistic determination of his colleagues. This project was accompanied by an unmistakeable hint from Bernier that it was the utmost to be expected from the Government; that if refused, they would overthrow religion not only in France, but in Italy and in Rome itself. The brutality of such diplomacy is apparent. Their disgraceful intriguing went yet further. That Mgr. Spina's isolation might be complete, of the ten letters he sent to Rome between November 5th and January 5th, only one reached its destination. That one was posted, not in Paris, but at Geneva. Consalvi wrote to Spina every week; but after the letter dated November 10th, none came into his hands until that of January 10th.

Bonaparte chose his minister to Rome with the same

regard for the Pope as he had shown in the selection of a non-juror in Bernier. François Cacault, Bonaparte's intimate friend, had seen much diplomatic service in Italy under the monarchy, and was favourably known in Rome. Never a courtier, but a rough diamond of straightforward intention, his probity and Breton loyalty fitted him more closely than his Jacobinism. At the risk of fortune and even of life, he always acted with justice towards the Rome he learned to love, and became a sincere Catholic.

He received his instructions March 19th, 1801, arrived in Rome April 8th, and quickly ingratiated himself with the Pope's young Secretary of State. But his presence had this inconvenience: it compelled the Holy See to treat of ecclesiastical affairs with a layman instead of an ecclesiastic, like the Abbé Bernier. Also, it involved that documents would not reach Bonaparte at first hand, but influenced by the glosses, suggestions, and possible objections of a third party.

The kind of opposition Bonaparte had to contend with from his Government is seen in the fact that when Cacault left for Rome to hasten the conclusion of the affair, Talleyrand sent the ex-priest Alquier, a fervid Jacobin, to obstruct settlement, and gain time for a rupture.

The five projects were at once examined by a small congregation of three Cardinals. Their conclusions were to be submitted to the Pope, who would then have them scrutinised by a larger congregation. In a fortnight a counter project was submitted to his Holiness, who passed it on to twelve Cardinals. By April 15th, the Roman project of nineteen articles was ready. In substance it accorded the essence of the French projects. The new—restricted—distribution of dioceses, the suggestion of renunciation of their sees by the lawful bishops, nomination of bishops by the Head of the State, the oath of fidelity to be made to the First Consul; the alienated Church property to remain with present holders; the substituted pensions; the same treatment of married priests as Julius III. granted through Cardinal Pole, and the recognition in the actual government of the rights and privileges the kings of France had hitherto enjoyed.

The inconvenience of having to inform Cacault of the steps taken was apparent at once. As soon as he received the counter project his Breton tenacity made him stand for project five, "tel quel" or nothing. France was to him—forgetting ten years—a Catholic country; so he, a layman, could not understand the insistence that it should "profess, adopt, or return to Catholicism." Hence he refused to forward the Roman project. Thereupon, long and anxious deliberations among the Cardinals from April 30th to May 8th. "Ogni parola costa sudori di sangue," wrote Consalvi to the Nuncios. These delays, *vis-à-vis* of Bonaparte's growing impatience, left Spina on a bed of agitated thorns. The danger of a complete rupture of the whole negotiations became very real. He redoubled his pleadings for an immediate settlement, repeatedly advising Consalvi to distrust both Cacault and Alquier, and to send the convention direct to Paris without referring to either. Spina was right. Bonaparte's suspicion that Rome, misled by Russia, Prussia and England, was temporising, gained strength. The archbishop, upon a forecast of Consalvi's, had promised the arrival of the documents for April 30th. On May 12th they had not come. Bonaparte, although in Consalvi's shrewd mind "l'homme de la spontanéité réfléchie," lost all patience with his temper; and, storming, roundly threatened to establish some kind of public worship himself, "et qu'alors tous les égards pour le Saint-Siège cesseront du même coup." In effect, on May 13th, Bernier wrote Consalvi that the First Consul charged him to say that further delay would be considered his (Consalvi's) personal fault; that he would regard it as an open rupture, and that he would at once occupy the Papal States under title of conquest. At last, on May 12th, the reconsidered counter-project was finished. That night a courier left post for Paris with a double copy of the convention, a Bull announcing the Concordat to the world, a letter of Pius to Bonaparte, a letter to Spina of full power to ratify, and a long *mémoire* explaining the reason of the Holy See's modifications of the French project. He reached Paris on May 24th. Before his arrival, Bonaparte's impatience, inflamed by Talleyrand, broke all bounds. On May 19th,

Bernier sent an ultimatum to Spina, and Talleyrand to Cacault, that if within five days from receipt of "these despatches," the Bull and Concordat, unchanged in substance or form, were not delivered, the French Minister to Rome would be withdrawn. This Cacault presented on May 30th, but it was useless. Neither Bonaparte nor the Government could intimidate Pius VII. in a matter of conscience. Bonaparte therefore acted. His troops occupied Montefeltro, a dependency of Urbino, and a few days later Pesaro and its neighbourhood. The French army in Tuscany was reinforced.

The re-establishment of religion in France was, however, as necessary to Bonaparte as to the Church. That he should not be worsted in a negotiation with Rome was of more importance to his reputation than to the Pope's. His impetuosity had brought him to an *impasse*. It is to the credit of Cacault that an exit was discovered. He knew Bonaparte's pride would be flattered if he had a Prince of the Church accredited to his Court. He therefore proposed that Cardinal Consalvi, the Papal Secretary of State, should go to Paris and conclude the Concordat there.

Meanwhile Bernier had reported to the First Consul that in substance the Roman project was acceptable, if the form were revised. This was coming too near a settlement to please the Government. Talleyrand therefore found the Roman draft contained two matters inadmissible, viz., that the Government were asked to declare itself Catholic and to conserve the purity of its religious dogmas, contending that it was for citizens, not government, to do both. What then became of *representative* government, it may be asked? So a seventh project was drafted, in which there is more of the hand of Talleyrand than of Bernier. It is dated June 14th, that is, after receipt of Cacault's despatch notifying his failure to force the Pope to sign. Not only were these new articles substantially different from those accepted by the Pope, but all that Spina had from the beginning declared essential to a basis of agreement was suppressed. He at once declared it impossible to sign. Thereupon it was decided to await Consalvi's arrival. He left Rome June 5th, accompanied by Cacault as far as Florence, to

deprive the Roman republicans of a pretext for disturbance. Cacaault, writing to Talleyrand, as it were, to introduce Consalvi, wisely added : " Vous jugez bien que le Cardinal n'est pas envoyé à Paris pour signer ce que le Pape a refusé de signer à Rome."

Scarcely forty, tall, of good presence, and versed in the affairs of men, Consalvi was a man gifted with great faith of heart and firmness of soul. Prudent without cowardice, supple but firm, he was quick of mind and fertile in expedients. His character had been finely tempered to a patience completed by tenacity—one that could yield to circumstances if principles, which no flattery could move, were untouched ; of signal generosity in success : victory never embittered him towards those who had striven against him. Such was the man who alone, without ostentation, faced the astuteness of Talleyrand, the violence of Bonaparte, and the over-reaching zeal of Bernier.

IV.

Consalvi reached Paris June 20th, and was well received by Bonaparte, but not so by Talleyrand. Nevertheless, the First Consul gave him clearly to understand that for high State reasons he must have an immediate settlement ; that if the new project were not signed within five days—which made reference to Rome impossible—he would break off negotiations and found a national Church. Bernier could, of course, inform and counsel Bonaparte day by day. Consalvi could never do so with the Pope.

This new project, the seventh, Consalvi received from Bernier June 26th, with an order from Talleyrand to give a definite reply the next day. At ten o'clock that night Consalvi, Spina, and Caselli commenced upon a project based upon the Roman one, but approaching as closely as possible this number seven. By four o'clock next morning it was finished and the definite reply ready. (Padre Rinieri publishes the complete text for the first time.) Bonaparte received it on the 28th, the very day, by good fortune or management, Talleyrand left Paris for the bathing season.

On July 1st one more attempt was made, under threats, to force Consalvi to sign project seven pure and simple, but without effect.

Affairs grew so critical that Consalvi wrote to the illustrious Mgr. Di Pietro : " It will be a miracle if we are not shipwrecked. . . . One must do what one can, not what one would." So serious were they, that he advised the Pope to think of a place of refuge in case he had to fly from Rome. Things were thus at their worst when the sky suddenly cleared. On July 7th Consalvi received through Bernier a letter dictated by Bonaparte, by which, in a conciliatory tone, he reduced all differences to three. The profession of religious faith of the First Consul, which he wished to be a personal, not an official one ; the publicity of Catholic worship, which he wished to be restricted within the churches ; and the formula of oath to be taken by the clergy, viz., the old oath formerly taken by the kings of France. Consalvi replied, suggesting a mode by which two of these could be arranged. The third, as to publicity, he felt obliged to refer to Rome. Bonaparte's answer, still conciliatory, left two points—publicity and the formula—still open. Padre Rinieri is the first to publish Consalvi's reply in full. In view of the interpretation given by Bernier's covering letter—that the restriction as to publicity was only temporary—the Cardinal agreed to the modification, and offered to sign the Convention. Bonaparte named his brother Joseph, Cretet, and Bernier to sign for the Republic. This was announced by letter from the Abbé. In a second and later letter of the same day he arranged the rendezvous for eight that evening at the house of Joseph Bonaparte. But this note contained an enclosure : " Voici ce qu'on vous proposera d'abord ; lisez le bien, examinez tout, ne desespérez de rien." On the face of it a friendly warning, a hint of some one's disapproval of the enclosure, and an advice that all need not be lost in case of its rejection. It is incredible, but irrefragably true, that the enclosure was not the project mutually accepted and agreed upon, but the very project—number five—presented at Rome by Cacault and rejected there, and again in Paris. " A mille lieues du notre," wrote Consalvi,

almost in despair. It is now perhaps impossible to get at the authors of this discreditable attempt to substitute the document to be signed. Did Bernier act solely on his own initiative—a very dangerous thing to do—in giving Consalvi the warning? Did Bonaparte know of the trick to be attempted? Theiner says he did not; that it was the work of Meret and Hauterive. De le Meurthe thinks it was the suggestion of Hauterive, with the tacit sanction of the First Consul. Joseph Bonaparte warmly protested his ignorance of any substitution, and Consalvi—who speaks well of him throughout—believed him.

The meeting lasted twenty hours, from 8 p.m. July 13th to the afternoon of July 14th. Consalvi opened it with an energetic declaration that neither he nor his colleagues would sign any convention other than the one already arranged. Article by article therefore had to be discussed over again. When at last the whole had been got through, Consalvi asked that two copies be made and signatures affixed. This was agreed, and two copies made. Suddenly the French Plenipotentiaries refused their signature until the draft had been submitted to the first Consul, alleging they had no power. It was sent to Bonaparte, who, incensed beyond endurance by the reiterated delays, on reading it lost all control, tore it to pieces, declaring that if it had been signed he would have torn it up in their faces. For the "third and very last time," he demanded the French project exactly as it stood. He would hear no answer, would tolerate no change. "Either that or nothing."

This was on the morning of the Fêtes, during which he had intended to announce the Concordat with considerable *éclat*. After the state dinner, at which Consalvi and Spina were guests—but not at the earlier reception—Bonaparte discussed the affair with the Cardinal. He was extremely irritated, and might have rushed into a rupture but for Consalvi's tact. Seeing the Austrian Ambassador, the Comte de Cobenzl, Bonaparte impulsively put the matter to him. The old diplomatist, who knew both his men, suggested a *via media*, which each consented to think over. Hence the Conference of the six Plenipotentiaries was

renewed at midday, July 15th. After twelve hours' hard work, an agreement, founded on verbal modifications, was come to : Consalvi obtaining concessions greater than he anticipated. The Cardinal, in view of what had happened the day before, insisted on signatures being affixed there and then. This, after much opposition, he carried, and the great struggle of nine months was over. What those months of arduous and incessant trial meant may be seen between the lines of a letter written the next day by Consalvi to Cardinal Doria, who had taken his post when he left for Paris : "*Que votre Eminence me dite ce qu'on peut obtenir de gens qui au fond ne veulent pas la chose ; ennemis par principe, nullement compétents ou bien peu dans la matière, qui voient ces choses au point de vue de la politique et de l'interêt, et non d'après les regles de l'Eglise ; qui ne se donnent pas la peine de lire, ni d'examiner, les raisons qu'on apporte, et qui avec un bon mot croient éluder le plus solide argument . . .*" In the words of Pasquier, it "was the most brilliant triumph over the genius of the Revolution ; and all the following successes have, without exception, resulted from it."

Bonaparte, satisfied, was now all eagerness for ratification by the two Sovereigns. This was to take place within forty days. Consalvi left Paris July 25th, and reached Rome August 7th by forced journeys. There he was coldly received, except by the Pope, who welcomed him most affectionately.

V.

In Consalvi's own words, to Bonaparte alone among the French belongs the glory of restoring religion to France. In the letter to Doria, already cited, he wrote : "*Que le Saint-Père, que le Sacré Collège, le sachent bien, le Premier Consul est le seul qui ait voulu l'arrangement. Soyez convaincu que tous les autres sont des ennemis, et, ce qui est pire, des ennemis puissants.*"

The Revolution was defeated, but by no means destroyed. It determined, and Talleyrand expressed its intentions, that

all efforts for the re-establishment of religion should be subordinated to political institutions and laws. That what it had lost by the Convention should be saved by unilateral additions, falsely called "organic" articles. Talleyrand at once submitted to Bonaparte a tentative memorandum with this view.

Meanwhile the Pope sent the Convention to a congregation of five Cardinals. The majority reported that Articles 1 (the publicity of worship) and 13 (the alienated church property) could not be ratified. Thereupon six theologian-canonists were appointed to examine the two articles. Of these, three approved ratification, three objected. The two articles were therefore submitted to the whole College of Cardinals then at Rome, their written answers to be ready for the meeting of the Sacred College, in the presence of the Pope, on August 11th. For Article 1, eighteen voted for ratification pure and simple; eleven desired some reserve or modification. On Article 13 only six or seven were for the negative. Pius VII. decided to ratify both. This ratification, with covering documents, reached Paris August 29th. On September 8th, Bonaparte composed the text of his approbation and solemn ratification, and sent it to Cretet and Joseph Bonaparte. These two met the Papal plenipotentiaries, Spina and Consalvi, on September 10th, when final signatures were exchanged.

At the request of Bonaparte, Cardinal Caprara was, not without reluctance, appointed to the delicate task of supervising the execution of the Concordat. There was surprise, not at Bonaparte's choice, but at Rome's nomination of one whose diplomacy had not always been approved by the Holy See. Though clear-sighted, Caprara was too flexible. Of a disposition gentle and pious, he was inclined to purchase peace at the expense of undesirable sacrifices. His duties were exceptionally onerous, and demanded firmness. They included negotiations for the dismissal of the former bishops, for the nomination of the new ones, the annual indemnity to the clergy, regulations as to seminaries and religious congregations, and so on. "The sequence of events explains and justifies Bonaparte's choice and our repugnance," said Consalvi drily.

Caprara was nominated Legate *a latere* in a consistory, August 24th, 1801 ; left Rome September 5th, and reached Paris by the evening of October 4th. Schism having to be healed, vested interests to be placated, bitternesses controlled, his every act was jealously watched by friends, no less closely than by foes. Bonaparte's energy was always at white heat. Although the Concordat had not yet been solemnly published, he wanted the Bull for the new distribution of dioceses before its due date, and desired that the Cardinal-Legate should at once receive the faculty to confer canonical institution on the new bishops he was about to name. These requests were granted. Bonaparte then intimated that he would choose a third of the new bishops from the Constitutionals. This was entirely against the spirit of the Concordat ; such a step was never hinted at during the negotiations. Placed over dioceses without canonical institution, these intruded, or "constitutional" bishops, presented a difficulty thick with thorns : not only from the fact of their intrusion, but also because they were permeated with Jansenism. The Pope's first step upon the ratification of the Concordat was loyally to fulfil it by calling upon all the French bishops—non-jurors and constitutionals—to resign their sees for the sake of peace in the Church. Many of the former—in exile—whether from devotion to the Bourbons, to the Gallican liberties, or fearing their sees would be given over to schismatics, declined to relinquish sees to which they had been duly elected. Quite a number of the Constitutionals resigned the sees into which they had been intruded. But the formula they used in doing so was practically an accentuation of their Gallicanism, if not of Jansenism. There is proof, indeed, that the formula had been dictated by the Government. Councillor Portalis, a former magistrate, but never a Jacobin, now Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs, himself speaks of it in a report of October 14th to the First Consul : "que j'avais redigée." The poison of the four Articles of 1682 was everywhere still active in France, and the Government meant to prevent the complete submission of the Constitutionals to the decrees of the Holy See. What was in Bonaparte's inner mind in

taking this step is difficult to determine. But we have Bernier's assurance that, by the election of some of the Constitutionals, the First Consul intended to weaken the unity of this body and so lead to its destruction. It is less than doubtful, however, if the Government, while following his "means," agreed with his "end."

The institution of Constitutionals was peremptorily refused, unless they first retracted their error and submitted themselves to the Holy See as prescribed by the Brief, *Post multos labores*. This was a step of courageous inflexibility, for their numbers, influence, and support by the Government made them a powerful clique, with whom it was dangerous to engage.

In January, 1802, four-fifths of the Tribune and of the Corps Legislatif were renewed with men favourable to the First Consul.

On March 25th the Peace of Amiens was signed, and Bonaparte was at the height of his power.

On April 1st the Concordat, with an additional seventy-seven articles; the inspiration of Talleyrand, supposed to guide or illustrate the execution of its fifteen articles, was presented to the Council of State, and accepted without discussion. On the 8th it passed into law, without discussion, in the Corps Législatif, under the title of *Loi du 18 Germinal, an X*, by 228 votes to 21.

These seventy-seven added articles, drawn up by one contracting party to the Convention only, bearing in places formal contradiction to its text, and dealing with matters appertaining to the other contracting parties, are known as the Organic Articles. They were never seen, never suspected, by the latter until they become law. They established in France an ecclesiastical code without the concurrence of the Holy See. In a full consistory, May 21st, Pius VII. protested against them as a grave violation of promises given by the French Government, and a serious invasion of his rights. On the 27th he wrote Bonaparte, urging the repeal of "Organic Articles, which were never known to us." They may be described as the quintessence of that Gallicanism to which the proclamation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility gave the death blow. They

made fast the servitude of the Church to the State.* On April 12th twenty-seven bishops were elected, of whom seven were Constitutionals. On the 15th these latter were presented to Caprara for institution. The Cardinal offered them the letter they were to write to the Holy See, containing retraction of their errors and their submission to the Papal judgment against the civil constitution of clergy. They all refused to sign it, suggesting modifications, and presented an alternative formula. The Cardinal replying that it was beyond his power to accept either, they demanded time for reflection, and adjourned to the house of Portalis. There, with the help of Bernier, now Bishop of Orléans, they drafted a form of submission. But, as Caprara pointed out, it contained no retraction of error. A hurried visit from Bernier, then from Portalis, brandishing the rather worn-out threat of ruining everything, failed. Caprara roundly told them no one could canonically institute those who were in schism unless they confessed and abjured. Once more there was an *impasse*. Caprara, however, offered that if the Constitutionals would declare, *vivâ voce*, in private, before two witnesses, that they renounced the sees they held, and promised true obedience to the Holy See, and full submission to the Brief of Pius VI.—and so implicitly retracted their error—they could receive absolution from all censures incurred. The following day, April 17th, Bernier, into whose hands the negotiation had been placed, reported to Caprara that each of the Constitutionals had written the Holy Father, had fulfilled the conditions, been absolved, and taken the oath. How much of exact truth there was in this, whether the Bishop of Orléans deceived or was deceived, cannot now be known. The abjuration was to have been made before two witnesses—the Bishop of Orléans and the Bishop of Vannes (Mgr. Pancemont). The latter declared, later, he could not vouch for the abjurations, as he was not present at them. Le Coz, with Lacombe (two Constitutionals), declared that submission and recantation were indignantly rejected by them all.

* They will be considered, with the text of the Concordat, on a future occasion.

During three years Pius VII. laboured in vain for their retraction, or that the Government should supersede them.*

At midday, Easter Sunday, April 13th, 1802, the three Consuls of the French Republic, with much military pomp, were officially received at the entrance of Notre-Dame by the venerable Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. de Belley, and his clergy. Cardinal Caprara pontificated. At the Gospel twenty-seven bishops took the oath, kneeling, to the First Consul. Mgr. de Boisgelin preached on the end of the civil war and the peace of Europe, consecrated by a religious peace. Four lines of soldiers gave a military salute at the elevation; and choirs, with full orchestras, conducted by Méhul and Cherubini, entoning the *Te Deum* of Pacciella, filled the old cathedral with joyous harmony.

The song and its echo have since died away.

D. MONCRIEFF O'CONNOR.

NOTE.—The writer considers it only just to Padre Rinieri, whose altogether admirable book is named at the head of this article, to say that the tone of this paper is rather more favourable to Bonaparte than, on the whole, the learned Jesuit would, perhaps, accept.

* Later in life Napoleon made this reflection: "Tous les anciens évêques eurent ma confiance et nul ne la trompa. Ce qu'il y a de singulier, c'est que ceux dont j'ai eu à me plaindre sont précisément ceux qui j'avais faits moi-même."—*Mém. de Sainte-Hélène*, tome ii. p., 6.

ART. VII.— THE GROWING ESTRANGEMENT FROM GOD.

IT is an indisputable fact that the modern world is becoming increasingly estranged from God. It is noiselessly but nevertheless very perceptibly drifting away from Him. A radical transformation is sweeping over the human mind. It is departing from first and necessary principles, and is constructing for itself a philosophy of life which is as false as it is hopeless. The spirit of this philosophy is in the air everywhere. It has invaded the mind of the thinker and the heart of the Christian ; it is dominating all spheres of human thought and interest—it is threatening to undermine the entire framework of our moral and social life. Slowly, noiselessly, imperceptibly, human life everywhere is more and more assuming the appearance as though it were really a settled thing that there is no God, no transcendental responsibility, no future life. Religious questions, it is true, continue to occupy the public mind, and there is still the outward form and habit of religious belief. But these are the mere surface-movements of life ; they do not touch its real depths and foundations ; they are not now the supreme questions admitted to be deserving of undivided attention and claiming the interest of the whole man. Underlying them is intellectual indifference and moral apathy, the one conditioning and, in a sense, producing the other. It is certainly an illustration of the contradiction and many-sidedness of human nature that intelligent men can be content to join in public worship, to profess a creed, and to pray to God, while in their inmost hearts they are absolutely indifferent about these matters—are, in fact, not at all sure whether there is a God to be prayed to and to be worshipped.

The religious life of mankind has passed through many strange phases and transformations. After the great rebellion against constituted religious authority there came the conflict between Science and Religion, and this was followed by an age of unblushing materialism and unbelief. All these movements of thought were characterised by intellectual and moral vigour, by a universal consciousness that important issues were at stake which involved the very highest interests of mankind. The very fierceness of the conflict was an evidence that the world was interested, that its moral conscience was fully awake. In the present age we have none of these elements. It is the age of indifference, of the most utter and the most hopeless religious apathy. Except in the ever-narrowing sphere of the definitely religious life, the better portion of the cultivated world has practically dismissed the greatest of all questions from its mind. It does not pronounce this way or that way, it does not definitely say that it has ceased to believe: it is content not to pronounce at all, not to think about the matter—to be simply indifferent. It constructs its life, its interests, upon things temporal, the things of sense; upon a foundation firmly planted in the seen and the known.

This utter and hopeless indifference is clearly the disease of this age; it is the greatest sin of man against God. And it is so dangerous because of the attitude which it assumes, of the prerogatives which it claims, of the variety of clever names and high-sounding phrases under which it loves to be known. In our days this religious indifference is not in the least ashamed to show its face—on the contrary, it shows that face with boldness and arrogance and is rather proud of its superior and distinguished looks. It struts about in the cloak of the philosopher and of the scientist, and hints at advanced culture and attainment—at a higher phase of mental evolution. And poor weak human nature, of course, succumbs to the spell; it echoes these sentiments and follows the crowd, and thus drifts and drifts until it has drifted away from God, until it has become wholly and hopelessly separated and estranged from Him.

There is no need to enter more fully into the matter, to

adduce facts and evidence. The thing is there. All the world admits it; teachers and moralists mourn and weep over it. Its spirit is in our daily newspapers, in the books we read, in the society in which we move, in the entire mental and moral atmosphere in which we live and have our being.

The question is: How has this extraordinary state of things been brought about? What is really the cause of this modern, rapidly growing religious indifference? How is it that intelligent men can thus come to do violence to their best and truest and deepest instincts? A host of answers at once present themselves: they arise unbidden and almost mechanically in the mind. They are the popular answers which are forever sounding in our ears and which have practically become shibboleths:—modern culture, liberal tendencies, the conflicts of religious thought, the competition of life, its pressing and every day wants. We know them well, and we acknowledge that there is in each of them some measure of truth. But what is the true answer, the answer which goes to the foundation of things, and which touches the root of the matter—which discloses the real source of the evil? This answer is simple, very simple indeed, and, to really honest minds, it ought to be self-evident. But it is an unpleasant answer, an answer not complimentary to human nature, and disguising itself in no attractive form.

The first cause of the growing religious indifference of our days, beyond doubt, is human pride—rebellion against lawful Divine authority. Ours is pre-eminently the age of liberty, of freedom in every sphere of human thought and interest. Freedom for the servant, freedom for the master, freedom in politics, in married and social life. Freedom from every kind of restraining influence, from every irksome law and institution. It is so very natural after all, and a thing to be expected, that there should be impatience of the highest and holiest law, of the restraint imposed upon the heart by God. The assertive voice of conscience which witnesses to His law cannot, it is true, be easily silenced; but it can be circumvented—there is the possibility of a compromise. For, after all, argues the modern world, are

not clever men very much in doubt as to the real origin of the conscience? Might it not have arisen by purely natural processes, from very low animal beginnings? Is it not possible that its testimony is, in consequence of our education, an exaggerated one? Might not things be quite different after all? God may be a kind of force, a sort of pantheistic thing, an energy working in nature and identical with it. There may, strictly speaking, be no moral responsibility at all. There may be no conscious after-life, no judgment. Who knows? And are there not cleverer men still who are avowed unbelievers, agnostics, who, as they gain in knowledge, depart from God and Christ and any kind of serious view of life? Is not all modern science said to be antagonistic to religion, indifferent as to the higher claims of man's complex nature? Unquestionably it is this mysterious science which has thus been ministering to human pride, and which is at the bottom of a good deal of the religious doubt and indifference of our day. No one knows precisely what and where this science really is. No one can point to a single fact in nature which can be made to tell against the existence of God, or against the presence and action of a spiritual world. But somehow there is a consciousness that science is in doubt, and that consequently there is no pressing need to be definite about matters of religion. The sub-conscious mind, receiving those impressions from the general environments of life, absorbs and retains them. A statement in a newspaper, a clever-sounding phrase in a magazine article, the light joke of an acquaintance or of a learned man : these are really the elements which go to create doubt, which, in the ordinary mind, form its basis and substance. There is scarcely ever any careful investigation, any painstaking enquiry into these things. And even if there were, it would profit but little. Superficial minds are, in matters of religion, far more effectually influenced by the supercilious smile of a clever man than by the ablest books that have ever been written in its defence, by all the witnesses of history and of the human heart !

And such minds will not listen to reason. It is of no use to point out to them that real science is and has always

been intensely reverent ; that the best scientific minds in all ages have always been ready to admit that the greatest of all problems cannot come within the sphere of the scientific investigator or be solved by him, that it belongs to another and a different sphere. It is of no use pointing to the testimony of conscience when it is seriously questioned, to those inner voices which will not always be silenced. These minds love this pseudo-science, this science which ministers to human pride and selfishness, which practically says : Enjoy your life here ; make the best of this world ; silence the promptings of the soul. These things are very inconvenient, and they may in the end be but abnormal developments. It is very doubtful whether there is a soul, doubtful whether there is a God who sees and knows, whether there is a judgment awaiting us at the confines of another world. Pseudo-science does not exactly say this : but it cultivates that discreet silence, which is intended to be intensely eloquent, and which becomes eloquent because of our human weakness. Indeed, from the attitude of some writers of our day, one would almost conclude that they had really got behind the veil of nature, that they had seen the manufacture of thought, the putting together of the fabric of the universe. And, as a matter of fact, they know very little indeed about all this, nothing at all about those very things concerning which we are most anxious and most interested. They can tell us nothing of the real mystery of life : whence we come, why we are here, whither we are going. They can only deal with processes, not with beginnings and origins. They can tell us something of the method of the world, nothing whatever of its cause. The best they are able to say on this latter point is and must always remain speculation. But to admit this would be to admit their ignorance, their helplessness. And anything better than that, anything better than to be supposed not to know !

There is unquestionably a great and subtle danger in this modern pseudo-science. It appeals intensely to the half and superficially educated, to minds influenced by words and ideas rather than by truths and facts.

Still all this ungodliness is respectable, it seldom takes a

coarse and offensive form. It only does this when it filters down to the less educated and to the lower classes, who have not the steady influence of mental labour and of other higher interests to fall back upon, who draw premature inferences and apply the results attained practically. It paralyses their moral life, it stifles the growth of any kind of spiritual effort, it ministers to the greatest of all human vices—pride. And these, after all, make up the bulk of the people, the heart of the nation. It is they who furnish the elements out of which our national social life is made up. Thus it is that the modern interests of life have no vestige of the true spiritual world in them, no vestige of the great conflict between darkness and light, between evil and good, between temptation and grace. Thus it comes that so much of the modern world is so seriously engaged with the surface of life, so little with the roots of it.

The other chief cause of the growing estrangement from God is sensuality—practical applied materialism. A certain section of modern society is, as we have only recently been told by one who knows, utterly and entirely corrupt. It lives in an incessant whirl of gaiety and dissipation—dissipation, not in the ordinary coarse sense of the word, but in the refined sense. It displays astounding ingenuity in inventing fresh means of tickling the senses, of engaging the mind, of frittering away the strength of the soul. For thousands and tens of thousands of educated and cultivated men and women the interests of the stomach are of infinitely greater importance than the interests of the soul. They cultivate the very vices which brought about the decline and fall of pagan Rome. It is the old question with a vengeance: what shall we eat, what shall we drink, how shall we clothe ourselves? There is in these things an ungodly competition, a kind of mad race, an outstripping of one another in the effort to tickle the palate, to bewitch the senses, to paralyse reason—to never give the true self a chance of asserting itself. And there is quite a seriousness about it all, a certain air as though these things had now come to be the only really important things of life—the only things worth living, worth lying, worth scheming for. Money, clothes, dinners, jewels, horses, social pre-

eminence—these are thy gods, O Israel! These are the idols for which men and women, amiable, cultivated, refined, will barter their real happiness, for which they will live and work and scheme and suffer. Anything better than not to be in society, not to shine, not to dine, not to dress and live well, not to see and be seen, not to pass through life aimlessly, stupidly, foolishly, hopelessly,

The very intenseness of this life is apt to arouse suspicion. It is so very unnatural, so very feverish, so restless in the pursuit of the one end. It is as though the mind was tortured by the fear lest there should be an awakening, a having to face any deeper problem and question—lest there should be the call to duty and to the recognition of life's deeper realities. It looks very much like a never ceasing and constantly renewed effort to forget that there are such things as conscience, disease, old age, death, God, judgment, eternity, a real and serious and intensely solemn purpose underlying human life.

What a mistake on the part of nature, or force, to have introduced these things into the world—order and scheme of being! Why were they not left out so that the mad race might go on for ever? Why does not modern science abolish them, or at least effectually explain them away? Why is it so helpless, so impotent; why does it dismiss the matter with a mere shrug of the shoulders? It knows so much, it has done so much for us, has set us free from old and troublesome beliefs and superstitions; why does it fail us where we most want it, where our need is deepest and greatest?

No, indeed! Modern achievement and human craftiness can do many things. They can imitate and outwit nature to a certain extent. They can patch up decaying organs and ruined constitutions. They can intensify the enjoyment of the senses, can fan ebbing passions into new life, and enable old age to indulge in the frivolities of youth. They can thus prolong the wretched farce indefinitely. But they cannot banish the horrid spectres altogether. They will somehow turn up when they are least wanted and expected, haunting the imagination and disturbing the sweet and luxurious dream, annoying and irritating and thwarting

the mind at every point—they will, if the truth were told, spoil all the real pleasure and leave nothing but sadness and weariness behind. In this sphere of life it is, as a matter of fact, almost always a case of luxuriousness, brightness, laughter, gaiety without; of sadness, weariness, depression, disgust, “nerves” within. And it is of no use fighting against it. The climax, the awakening is bound to come some time or other. Nature may allow herself to be duped and outwitted, not so God, not so conscience, duty, responsibility; these may all be ignored and forgotten, crushed, stifled down, but they cannot be destroyed or eradicated. They were instilled by God, and they act in accordance with higher and unerring laws; and they are meant to be our accusers hereafter on the day of Judgment.

What estranges God from man and man from God permanently and effectually are pride and sensuality, the two fundamental deadly sins, the sins which led to the loss of Paradise, of the beatific vision of God. They blur the spiritual sight, they raise up an impenetrable barrier between the seen and the unseen; they destroy the soul's power of actual intercourse with God. And the man who has ceased to pray is practically already “lost.” He has become inaccessible to truth. The golden cord which bound his soul to God is severed, and the soul is dead in a very actual and definite sense.

There is no getting over these facts. Thoughtful men know that these things are so, and that the evil is increasing day by day, that the intellectual, the semi-scientific, the frivolous world, the great mass of indifferent men and women are drifting away from God, becoming more and more estranged from Him. The question is: What is to be done?

The answer is simple, very simple—far simpler in fact than one might at first sight be inclined to suppose. The modern man must become true to himself—absolutely loyal and true to his higher and better self. There is no other remedy.

The foundations of religion are really in ourselves, if we would only be honest enough to acknowledge the fact and to face it. It is an utterly hopeless thing for man to

try and escape God. He meets us at every point, at every corner and turning of the road. In his heart of hearts, in the depths of that sub-conscious, that true self, every normally-minded man knows perfectly well that God is, and that there is a transcendental purpose in life. Otherwise why that sadness in the midst of success and achievement; why that intense and never-satisfied longing after some undefined and undefinable good? That hunger and thirst of the soul, vainly seeking to hide itself under a calm exterior; an easy smile, that aching void within, are in themselves His living witnesses. That these inward witnesses do exist and make themselves heard and felt even in the most advanced of modern scientific men, is beyond all doubt.

It is this negative moral experience most undoubtedly which always and under all conditions proclaims God and the end of life. It would certainly be fatal to belief in the Deity and in a future life if the soul did not proclaim it more forcibly than all the works of philosophers. And this Divine consciousness, thus negatively asserting itself, is part of our nature, it is permanently and ineffaceably impressed upon our entire moral constitution. External evidence can neither explain it nor disprove it; the proof of it lies in the sphere of the moral, as well as in the intellectual world. It is a primary truth which brings its own evidence with it. It is unquestionably true "that with every single man that is born into the world there arises for godless science a new and formidable opponent to face."

And our duty is to trust these impressions of the higher self, to acknowledge that they are true, that they must be true—more reliable by far than the conclusions of any so-called science. We must face them, act upon them, develop them, we must take up concerning them a positive, not a negative attitude. That attitude must be a distinctly and definitely affirmative one. We must believe that the same faculty which discloses so much will disclose more, if it is properly extended and cultivated: that through the same channel will come additional light and information. It is the negative, doubting, indifferent mental attitude which closes the avenues of the soul, which blurs the lens

through which the light streams in, and which causes the picture obtained to be clouded and vague and indefinite and out of proportion. Suspense of mind in the matter of religion, no matter what its cause, is and always will be practical unbelief. And unbelief enervates the moral nature, it debilitates the powers of the soul. The positive frame of mind, the determination to be true to self and to trust nature, energises the soul and the will, it braces up the moral faculty, and it provides the elements out of which a true view of life, of its duties, its responsibilities is formed. It satisfies the heart and brings real happiness. "I cannot imagine," said Bismarck, "how a man reflecting on his own existence and yet wishing to know nothing of God, can bear his life for weariness and disgust."

The same holds good with regard to conscience. There it is, incessantly and sometimes most uncomfortably asserting itself. Do what you will, you cannot altogether escape it, cannot stifle it or evade it. It will certainly let you have your own way, if you defy and disobey its warnings. It will let you become estranged from God, but it means you to know it, to be fully conscious of it, and to bear all the consequences. It means you to suffer for your disloyalty. It thus testifies not only to the Lawgiver, but to the Judge. And this Judge declares that He will not be deposed. He defies all science, all conventional reason and argument; He outwits the most crafty cunning and strategy. He keeps His hand firmly on the struggling soul. If she tries to escape Him, He holds her tight; if she struggles, He puts her to the torture.

These are not pious platitudes, they are very serious facts borne witness to by the entire history of mankind, by our own daily inward moral experiences. Why does a life of religious indifference bring weariness, apathy, ennui, intolerable disgust? Why does a life of devotion to God and of submission to His will bring satisfaction, contentment, brightness, happiness? Who will explain this curious phenomenon: who will tell us how and where so strange a thing could have originated in the natural order of things? Physical science has no answer, unless it be some senseless shibboleth which is no answer at all, and

which explains nothing. It can only have originated in that higher world, in that supernatural order, for the enjoyment of which man was created, but which, by the perversity of his own nature, he will persist in shutting out from his view. The structure of the eye implies light, of the ear sound. So surely the structure of the conscience implies a spiritual world and presence acting upon it both from without and from within. Shut out the light and you will in the course of time become blind. Deaden all sound and you will become deaf. Resist the action of the spiritual world upon your nature and you will cease to experience it—you will become spiritually blind and deaf and stupid. But cultivate those organs, give them their rightful place and sphere of action, let them have full and free play, and they will grow and develop and expand ; they will restore the lost balance of the moral nature, and in the course of time, speak of things which "mortal eye hath not seen nor ear heard."

Surely if life has a purpose at all, that purpose can only lie in the future : the fleeting present cannot be an end in itself, it can only be a means to an end. Or will it also become a dictum of future science that eating and drinking and dressing and silly thinking and talking are, after all, very excellent ends of life? Sense enjoyments, both coarse and refined, are probably pleasures of a kind ; but why the sting they leave behind, why that indescribable sadness and weariness which requires to be overcome by fresh excitement? Why is there no such sting in the religious life? How does scientific philosophy explain it?

What nonsense it all is, this modern talk about higher learning and science and scepticism, this absurd attempt to ride rough-shod over human nature and to violate the plainest and simplest of all Divine laws! What is there more contemptible in the world than the picture of the puny, helpless creature of the earth thinking it above its dignity to acknowledge and obey its own Maker? Can human imbecility and pride go further than this? Surely it ought to be evident to the most superficial thinker, who has still the normal use of his reason, that the science which ignores God cannot possibly be enlightened by the true

light! Man has consciousness, free will, a moral nature, personality. The Power which conceived and made these cannot be less than that which it made. An unconscious force cannot create consciousness; blind mechanism cannot terminate in free will, in morality, in personality. Material undirected forces, by whatever learned name they may be called, cannot be supposed to produce those things out of chaos. There is really no need to go a single step further. Unperverted reason recognises the truth at a single glance, and can snap her finger at what is unhappily still called science. What we want in the present time is not more science, or more philosophy, but more common sense, more return to nature—a greater determination to look a self-evident truth in the face.

The growing estrangement from God is a danger to the state, a danger to society, a danger to the individual immortal soul. It saps the very foundations of morality. It destroys all real joy, all genuine interest in life. It makes it well nigh impossible for the larger number of mankind to bear its burdens. It causes that undefined moral apathy and ennui, that want of direction and purpose in life which is the disease of the modern world. Without a full and positive acknowledgment of God, of His constant action upon the moral world, a really true and useful and well-directed life is unthinkable, is impossible. Human nature is so constituted that, when these elements are lacking, it is apt to lose its balance, to drift about like a ship in a storm without a rudder and a directing hand, and in the end to founder and to perish. Without a transcendental aim, without a higher purpose, the noblest soul is bound to languish, to decay and to die!

The greatest misery of life is the half-hearted attitude of mind—the halting between two opinions. The very worst thing a man can do is to attempt a compromise, to try to make the best of both worlds. God must possess man altogether or not at all. "With a distracted attention," says a great thinker, "the soul can never attain to union with God." Few people are aware that to act and to think entirely according to God's will, and to abandon the attitude of reserve, is easier and more satisfying by far than a half-

hearted state of mind. A complete surrender is the best and simplest and easiest of all. True freedom consists in willing submission to truth. It is our highest victory when the truth which we discern prevails over us. And there is in reality nothing servile in such a submission to truth, in such obedience to lawful authority. The homage which man pays to God, so far from being a bondage, is the noblest use to which he can put his freedom; it is an exercise of his best strength, the most heroic act of his moral character.

Let this be fully recognised and fairly tried, and the result and success of the experiment may be safely guaranteed.

What is wanted then in this present age is not abstract reasoning as to the origin and reliability of our moral intuitions and experiences, but real confidence in them and practical application of them—a clear recognition that in them alone is to be found the solution of the mystery of our being, of the perplexing riddle of life. If the experiences of modern life are teaching us anything at all, they are surely teaching us that, do what we will, we cannot by any device or effort of our own successfully sever that mystic claim which binds us to a higher life and to another world-order; and that “since God has made man for Himself, his heart cannot hope to find rest until it finds it in Him.”

J. GODFREY RAUPERT.

ART. VIII.—THE POSITION OF THE CATHOLICS OF SCOTLAND IN 1715.

FROM 1708 to 1716, Catholic hopes in Scotland ran high. The restoration of James VIII., the country's natural sovereign, would have meant the destruction of the hated Union of 1707, and the taking off of many oppressive and injurious laws aimed at the Catholics of the realm. James was pledged to Episcopacy ; but he was also pledged to a general toleration, which, sooner or later, would have restored true religion to Scotland, by means of the suffrages of the highlanders, who had not accepted the so-called Reformation, and who needed but to be united in order to sweep Conventicleism and Calvinism into the sea.

Though the Jacobite risings were not exclusively Catholic undertakings, yet they owed what temporary success they enjoyed mainly to Catholic assistance. The Episcopal party possessed no great numerical strength in the country, though some of the heads of the Nationalists inclined to that persuasion. As for the Presbyterians, they largely favoured the Hanoverian cause, which, by a characteristic process of wilful self-deception, they chose to identify with that of the country in general. Comparatively few Presbyterians of any light or leading embraced Jacobitism, which, apart from its main object, was the cause of the country districts, as opposed to that of the burghs, where the Presbyterians had their strength. The Cameronians and other fanatics had, by 1715, got over their distemper ; which, on somewhat apocryphal evidence, is said to have temporarily inclined them to Nationalism. At all events, few, if any, of them took any part in the rising of 1715, at least on the Jacobite side, though various leaders of that discreditable faction

endeavoured to turn a dishonest penny by selling information (acquired under a pledge of secrecy) to the Hanoverian Government.

The Catholics of Scotland, on the other hand, were a numerous and resolute body, which internal faction and jealousies of a political character alone kept disunited. The policy of the Stuart Sovereigns, which was to keep the Celtic population divided by sowing faction and discord broadcast among them, was soon, by a curious irony of fate, to be the principal cause of their own undoing. From the religious point of view, the highlanders of Scotland were practically as one man; but politically they were much divided, being broken up into various tribes, dependencies, and parties, mainly in consequence of that disastrous policy which the Stuarts themselves had largely inaugurated. The remark is often made, that the highlanders of Scotland were the true exponents of the Jacobite creed. So, indeed, they were; but they failed to carry it to a successful issue, not by reason of any want of address and courage on their part, but in consequence of the civil difficulties and disabilities under which they laboured. It speaks volumes for the highlanders that, in such great numbers, and with so manifest a show of zeal, they should have supported the claims and pretensions of one whose ancestors had done so much to depress and humble them. In their hour of adversity the Stuarts turned with a feverish anxiety to the Celtic population of Scotland for that moral and material assistance which was refused to them by those whom it had been a principal part of their policy to exalt and caress, with the mistaken idea that the lowlands represented all that was intelligent and worthy to be encouraged in the Kingdom. But the injuries and offences of so long a period of time were not to be redressed by a few fine promises, and in the course of a campaign or two, in which the honours were admittedly to be mostly on the highlanders' side. By spoiling and crushing his Celtic nobility, by encouraging the importation of indigent foreigners, and by seeking all means and ways of depressing and disoblighing his Celtic subjects, James I., unconsciously, it is true, paved the way for the so-called Reformation, and largely contributed to

that series of unexampled disasters by which his house was eventually destroyed. We may feel a lively sorrow for the Stuarts, whose misfortunes were certainly picturesque, and, in many instances, would really appear to have been, humanly speaking, undeserved; but it is impossible to avoid the reflexion that they reaped according as they had sown. The attempt to force the feudal system, the English language and customs, etc., upon the Celtic inhabitants of Scotland was a political blunder of the first magnitude; and that sovereign is neither to be envied nor respected whose precarious hold of a crown can only be maintained by means of sowing faction and dissension among his subjects. A great deal has been written of late touching the "making of Scotland," which is a phrase apparently peculiar to those historians who regard sympathetically all those forces and circumstances, moral and material, which have contributed to create the Scotland of to-day. But apart from a certain measure of material prosperity, as easy to be secured under one system as under another—if the result of a common or universal progress—it is difficult to discover to what position Scotland can now legitimately lay claim. She has lost her nationality—her old proud individuality almost; and of religion, as we understand it, she has practically none; and what can it profit a nation, if in consideration of the trader's mess of pottage, she consents to be deprived of her own soul?

The Catholic position in Scotland on the eve of the Rising of 1715 is to be ascertained rather by means of those subtle currents of feeling which are wont to underlie and to bisect human endeavour on such occasions, than by any overt act on the part of the leaders of that body, or through the channel of engagements and alliances entered into on the part of those who were prepared to take up arms in behalf of a Catholic sovereign and a Catholic cause. James, who was no mean statesman, foresaw that his religion and that of the bulk of his followers must be kept in the background—if I may be allowed the expression—until such times as it might be safe to secure a just and proper public recognition of it. Hence it is that his advances were mainly directed to the Protestant noblemen,

whether chiefs of clans or lowlanders only. The claymores of the Catholic body he knew to be absolutely at his service ; and since he was sure of the Catholic highlanders, his principal efforts, and those of his advisers, were put forth with a view to securing the adhesion of the Protestant factions, especially those which, by no means so bigotted as the majority of their co-religionists, supported the pretensions of the Anglican heresy. So far as the Catholic body was concerned, there is evidence to show that their correspondence was intimate, and their engagements mutual and binding, whatever may have been their attitude with respect to the Protestants, from whom, indeed, they stood a good deal more aloof than was strictly politic, considering the magnitude of the task which confronted them. Their strength lay principally in the West, where they had whole tribes and clans devoted to the Catholic cause, although other parts of Scotland were by no means destitute of men who were willing and able to draw the sword in behalf of the true religion. The North, too, was a considerable source of uneasiness to the Hanoverian Government and the much-trumpeted "Protestant succession." About forty "Popish priests," who were well known, "appeared openly"—such was their daring in the eyes of the Whig tale-bearers—and "were so bold as to take up their residence in these places, and publicly go about all the parts of their functions." Moreover, the Catholic body was at this time so industrious "that in a short time they perverted vast numbers of ignorant people to their errors;" whilst in Skye, "whole parishes were converted or kept faithful" (to religion, king, and country). In Lochaber, Glengarry, Moidart, etc., "Poperly increased daily to a lamentable degree." "Priests," we are further told, "celebrated Mass publicly to swarms of deluded converts." In Lord Marr's county alone "near 200 people were converted" in a very short space of time. The Catholics of Perthshire also were extremely active. Schools were set up, and numbers of persons were drafted to places abroad in order to convert others "to the abominable errors of the Romish Church." The Catholics of the highlands, says another spy, "generally go well armed ;" whilst so

complete was their organisation, and so close their correspondence, that they could be trusted to take the field in large numbers at only "a few hours' notice." In August, of 1712, numerous meetings were held in the wilds of Badenoch for the purpose of fomenting the coming rising, and of adjusting the numerous details relating thereto. Arms also were imported, and an active correspondence with France kept up. Books, too, and pamphlets, reflecting on the Hanoverians and asserting the King's right, were published in large numbers and enjoyed an extensive circulation, in spite of all that the English Government and its friends in Scotland could do to put a stop to their sale and punish their authors for their temerity. Moreover, the chiefs of clans, under one pretext or another, were busily engaged in drawing their men to a head and in putting all in readiness for the expected invasion, which was confidently announced on several occasions before it actually took place. Thus, one Ogilvy (a member of the numerous confraternity of spies), writes to Secretary Harley so early as 1707, saying that Athole (a Protestant himself, but the leader of a number of Catholics) had not long completed a review of all his men in arms, and that they did amount to 4,000 men. "Few or none," adds the spy, "stayed at home, and a number of loose men (*i.e.*, men attached to no particular chief) joined him." Braedalbane, likewise, took occasion of the general unrest to review his followers, who, according to the same authority, amounted to about 3,000. "All Argyll's men that is good for anything," says Ogilvy, "will follow my Lord Braedalbane, whenever he pleases to call them, even in spite of my Lord Argyll; for let my Lord Argyll pretend what he pleases, this is the truth." Prominent on the Catholic side were the Earl of Seaforth and a great number of Catholics of the name of Mackenzie. Chisholm of Strathglass and his clan were also Catholics; and so were the Macdonalds of Glengarry, those of Moidart and Keppoch, Macleods of Barra, the Frasers (though subsidiary motives subsequently induced them to detach themselves from the Jacobite cause), the Stuarts of Appin, and numerous others which it is not here necessary to mention. It should

not be forgotten, moreover, that the influence of the House of Gordon was at this time principally Catholic, the Duke of Gordon himself and the most considerable of his followers being supporters of the old religion.

A few words as to the position and constitution of parties in Scotland prior to the rising of 1715 may not be out of place at this conjuncture. Foremost of these, both by reason of its numbers and of its strength, was undoubtedly the Jacobite or National party, which comprised all the Catholics, gentry and common people, the Non-jurors, and those of the Presbyterians who were violently opposed to the Union. The next party was that of the "Hot Presbyterians," as De Foe calls them, and who were otherwise known as the Squadroni. These people seem to have acted on no particular political bottom, save that of being always opposed to the Court, whether right or wrong. The third kind, comprised in large measure the generality of the people, whom De Foe accounts, though on no evidence, "Presbyterians," which last he considers as "jealous of the Jacobites through fear of the kirk." The Squadroni absorbed those of the nobility and gentry who were not Catholics, as well as all such, belonging to the various denominations, as were opposed to the Jacobite interest. Of the nobility, De Foe takes occasion to remark in a letter to Harley that they were an "odd kind of people, to say no more of them"—an opinion in which he was supported by the above-mentioned Ogilvy, who, in a despatch to the same minister, delivers himself on this subject as follows:—"There is one thing that I presume to advertise you of, that is you will never get a perfect and true account of things relating to that kingdom (Scotland) from any one of their nobility, for they all are ambitious as the devil, and every one of them would be esteemed great and powerful in his own country,* and would gladly have you believe that they are capable to suppress everything that may arise there of themselves. I need not give you a character of them, for I know you are too wise not to have found them out before this time, and to have seen clearly

* In Scotland it is the fashion to style a chief's territorial possessions (be he noble or commoner) as his "country."

through them. They are, as I have said, ambitious, envying one another, and not a bit of trust is there to be put in the greatest part of them ; for you may believe me, a man of honour is rare to be found amongst them. They have a subtle cunning, and some of them is (*sic*) men of letters, and some may be men of honour, but it is those that have travelled and seen a great deal of the world, and I wish you may never trust more of them than you are sure of."

Mr. Secretary Harley, by the way, would appear to have been the recipient of some strange communications addressed to him by persons who, from a variety of motives, took a lively interest in the Catholic cause. One, "J. Mackay," the master of a packet boat sailing between England and France, was willing to present him with a plan for extirpating the Catholic Religion. "I have an expedient," writes the ingenious mariner, "which will moulder these monasteries (British continental ones) insensibly away, and root out Popery infallibly." The scheme was to be communicated on the usual terms ; but it does not appear that Harley took advantage of the generous offer. The Anglican Bishop of Worcester, seized with prophesy, writes as follows to the Secretary :—"We are at the beginning of that war of religion which will last till the final destruction of Pope and Popery." It appears that the Bishop had been in company, on which occasion he had delivered himself of some such remarkable prediction as that set forth above ; and having offered to support it by scriptural text, he hastily quitted the room in search of the Bible ; but the company broke up before he could return with it, and so the Bishop's utterances remained unverified ! The Bishop's letter is endorsed by Harley "The Lord Bishop of Worcester's prophesy."

But to return to the subject of these remarks. The difficulty under which Marr laboured was to reconcile the various petty feuds and jealousies of the chiefs with a vigorous prosecution of the war, and though he had more than common ability and address, the task proved too much for him. From first to last, the rising of 1715—like that of '45—was characterised by bickerings and unworthy jealousies and suspicions on the part of the Jacobite leaders.

The Catholic chiefs, indeed, with one or two exceptions, worked harmoniously together in behalf of the common cause. They seem to have had a higher and a broader sense of the magnitude of the issues committed to them ; and coming from a country in which Protestantism was little known and little relished, they had the advantage of co-operating with individuals with whom they were in sympathy, at all events on religious grounds. The Protestants, on the other hand, were not so united ; and it was mainly owing to their want of zeal and private dissensions that the battle of Sherriffmuir did not result in the utter discomfiture of the Hanoverian forces. The Catholic clans, who were on the right wing of Marr's army, and under command of the general himself, behaved with remarkable gallantry and alacrity on that occasion. They entirely destroyed the left wing of Argyll's army in the space of "seven or eight minutes" from the moment at which they began their furious attack ;" and there is reason to believe that had it not been for "humouring of some for whom I was obliged to have regard,"* the triumphant clans would have demolished what remained of Argyll's army, in spite of the success which the latter had achieved over Marr's left wing.

" There's some say that we wan,
And some say that they wan,
And some say that none wan at a', man ;
But of one thing I'm sure,
That at Sherramuir, a battle there was that I saw, man :
And we ran, and they ran,
And they ran, and we ran,
And we ran, and they ran awa', man !"

It would not appear that the negotiations of Colonel Hook and of others who traversed the highlands in behalf of the Jacobite cause prior to 1715 resulted in any definite understanding of a political nature, so far as the Catholics of Scotland were concerned. James was evidently so sure of the support of the Catholic clans that he did not trouble himself much to enlist their sympathies by means of formal engagements ; and, as has been already observed, all his

* Lord Marr in his *Legacie to Scotland*.

energies were devoted to patching up the private quarrels of his Protestant supporters. But, unhappily for Religion in Scotland, his policy of conciliation came too late. The mischief had been done years before, and in times when the Stuart hold on the throne of Scotland was thought to be dependent upon a policy of exasperation and of discord. The Catholic party knew what it aimed at, and struck its blow in the fulness of time with vigour and alacrity ; but it was not strong enough to dominate the whole nation, or of itself to restore the sovereignty in the true line.* The difficulties of James were many and obvious. He had to attempt to reconcile various conflicting interests, and to pose as a Protestant ruler, whilst he was naturally, and by every tie of sympathy and interest, a purely Catholic one. Of respectable, though not considerable abilities, he was scarcely the kind of man to conduct an undertaking of that kind to a successful issue. In dealing with the Protestants, he was at war with himself, as it were, and at a great disadvantage by reason of the fickleness of the times, and the loose and uncertain characters of the men with whom he had to deal. As affairs then stood, it is doubtful whether a greater than James would have succeeded in the object which that Prince had set himself to acquire ; for there were forces in being, and actually at work, which point to the conclusion that the task was a hopeless one, so long as the nobility remained Protestant, and so long as the connection with England was maintained. James, indeed, was pledged to a dissolution of the Union, to the abolition of the Established Presbyterian religion, and to a general toleration ; but it is exceedingly doubtful if measures of this kind, so eminently in advance of the times in which they were proposed, would have secured him the throne, even although they should have preceded his actual acquisition of it. The causes of his failure, and that of his son in 1745, lie deep down in history, though, to be sure, the character of the men who mounted the stage at that time, and the violence and venality of the nobles in particular, were contributory to his failure. If Sherrieffmuir

* It must be remembered that the great nobles and chiefs had been mostly gained to Protestantism by the gift of sequestrated Church lands.

had been a victory, instead of a doubtful contest, the King, indeed, might have enjoyed his own again; but it is problematical if he would have enjoyed it for long. His ancestors had divided their house so effectually against itself that it could not have stood, at all events, permanently, in the position in which James desired it to be placed. In good truth, the balance of power had been transferred to the wrong people, through a mistaken notion of policy, the bitter fruits of which it was James's bad fortune to experience. No doubt he did his best to correct the errors of the past; but judging by his measures and by his actions, he by no means realised the magnitude of the task that confronted him—the absolute necessity there was, if he wished to achieve more than a temporary success, of entirely undoing all that had gone before, so far as the Catholic and Celtic population of Scotland was concerned. Of this broader and more politic view, James's letters and despatches give no indication whatsoever. He was content, apparently, to follow the courses of his ancestors—to tread in their footsteps; to caress and befriend the highlanders when it suited his purpose to do so, and, possibly, to injure and depress them should they rebel against the feudal and arbitrary proclivities with which his race and house were affected. The destruction of the Celtic system, and the introduction of the Feudal; the headlong policy of the first James, who gave the cue to his misguided successors; the weakness of Queen Mary in her dealings with the so-called Reformers; the accession of James VI. to the throne of England; the long-continued persecution of the Catholics under the later Stuarts—these, apart from the venal and turbulent character of the nobility of Scotland, were some of the principal causes that contributed to the discomfiture of James VIII. in 1715.

J. R. ERSKINE.

ART. IX.—THE WRITINGS OF THE VENERABLE ENGLISH MARTYRS.

SOME portions of the long process of beatification are kept rigorously secret until they are completed ; some are not valid unless they are conducted with a large measure of publicity. The *Perquisitio Scriptorum*, as it is called, is one of the latter class. In this *processiculus* (so termed because of the relatively small amount of formality with which it is conducted) all the works written by the servant of God who is to be beatified are collected and forwarded to the Sacred Congregation of Rites. This cannot, as a rule, be done in secret, for it generally happens that the writings in question have either been circulated over a wide area, or transported for safety's sake to all manner of places. Under such circumstances it would be impossible to gather up all the scattered treasures without asking and obtaining public help.

Inquiries after the writings of the English martyrs were commenced over three years ago, and the number of *Scripta*, which has been brought together by the help of many willing hands, is now so considerable that there seems to be reason to hope that the collection is more or less complete, and ready to be dispatched to Rome. As it will then be too far off to be referred to at leisure, we shall be well advised if we review its contents before it goes. A few words, however, must be premised to explain the principles upon which the collection has been made.

In the first place, it must be remembered that we are at present only concerned with those martyrs who are already declared Venerable,* that is to say, with those 253 martyrs

* When the cause of our *Beati* is continued, inquiries into their writings will be made as into other parts of their actions and lives, but not by a special commission as in the case of the *Venerables*. This is, in effect, the necessary sequence of their having been beatified by "per modum casus excepti."

whose names are contained in the decree of December 4th, 1886.* In the second place, it should be noted that the term *writings* is taken in its ordinary meaning, but is to include all writings whatever, however small. Thus, when the works of some great author are collected—say, Bacon, Carlyle, Thackeray—then we expect to find in the finished collection not only the greater works, but also the lesser; and even the letters, verses, and miscellaneous writings are not to be omitted. In gathering together the writings of Servants of God the same principle is followed, but must be carried into great detail. It is thought no harm, but rather a virtue, in an editor of the works of some literary man or politician if he omit fragments, *juvenilia*, letters on trivial subjects, etc. But all these things would have to be put into court before beatification. A single stray letter (take, for instance, that of Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque, containing the so-called twelfth promise of the Sacred Heart) might contain matter which Rome would insist on having submitted to her before she proceeds to canonise its writer.

It will be well to notice some apparent exceptions which really prove the rule. Mere copies made in a martyr's hand (for instance, Father Page's autograph copy of his vows, facsimiled in Foley's *Records, S.J.*, vii. 564), however precious as relics, are not his *work*, and so are not included. Nor, again, are accounts, nor legal deeds signed by a martyr (we have some of the Earl of Arundel's) to be reckoned among his *works*, though they will all be wanted at other periods of the cause.†

Turning now to our collection of *Scripta*, we find that

* This decree will be found under date in all contemporary collections of decrees, and an English translation in my *Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 376. Seven, however, of these *Venerables* (Whiting, Faringdon, Beche, James, Thorn, Eynion, Fortescue) were beatified by the supplementary decree of May 13th, 1895, and so are not here under discussion. The cause of Archbishop Plunkett will henceforth be advocated in Ireland.

† A real exception is, however, afforded by "accounts of trials" and "last speeches," when written by the martyrs themselves. These are not required, because they *must* be fully examined later on. Yet it has not been possible to exclude them altogether, for some martyrs wrote their last speeches without delivering them; some wrote accounts of their trials which included long narratives of their previous lives and adventures.

out of the 253 *Venerables* about one hundred have left some writing or other behind them. Most of these are quite short and unpretentious. There is only one writer of note, Father Robert Southwell, S.J. Three more have written small books (two of the three were published posthumously). The great majority of *Scripta* are small miscellaneous pieces, letters, sermons, verses, examinations, and short prayers.

This ought not to surprise us. The martyrs were not *littérateurs*, but men of action. Whether priests or laymen, they fell while engaged in the front rank of the Church's workers. We know by experience that such persons, even in our peaceful times, leave but few monuments behind them when they are called away in mid-career. Considering the dangers of the times, the amount of writing which has survived appears to me to be, if anything, rather above than below what might have been expected. Another general characteristic is the almost entire absence of anything ill-natured, passionate, or scandalous. Considering that the martyrs lived the lives of the ordinary men of their day, and that passionate controversy and abuse were then quite common, this must be considered as rather surprising. We shall, perhaps, be able to appreciate it better when we have examined some of their writings in detail.

We may well begin with the five names which the Sacred Congregation of Rites has picked out from the *Venerables* (one for each of the various Orders), to give the group its title. The two hundred and fifty-three are now officially spoken of as "The Venerable Servants of God, George Haydock, Priest; John Roberts, of the Order of St. Benedict; Arthur Bell, of the Friars Minor; Robert Southwell, of the Society of Jesus; Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, and Companions." The martyrs named are not only representatives of their different religious bodies and grades, they also happen to be representative writers.

Of George Haydock, as of so many other hard-working secular priests, we have now but few *Scripta* left. His singularly bright and beautiful character is well reflected in a letter to Father Agazzari, the only piece of his which we

have in our collection.* Yepez has printed another letter, which is not needed now, because it describes his trial, and must be examined formally later on.† It seems to have been directed to his former Prefect of Studies, Father Robert Southwell, S.J.‡

Father Robert Southwell, to whom we are thus introduced, and who comes next to Haydock in the chronological order of their martyrdoms, fills a large place in the bibliography of the English Martyrs. We have first his poetical works. Of the various editions, that of Grosart§ has been selected to send to Rome. It is certainly complete, and far more critical than any which preceded it. Unfortunately this is not very high praise, and one cannot but express the hope that the edition, which Father Thurston has commenced, may ere long be completed in a style worthy of Southwell's name.

Southwell will presumably be always best known by his shorter poems, such as *The burning babe*, *Tymes goe by turnes*, or *A childe my Choyse*. They are full of deep and tender feeling, and in their form they offer no obstacle to any reader. There is probably more of high inspiration in the "Euphuistic" poems, such as "St. Peter's Complaint," and in the quaint prose compositions, such as "St. Mary Magdalen's Funeral Tears," and the "Triumphs over Death," which may perhaps be described as prose poems. But here the difficulties offered by the style are not inconsiderable, and patience and attention are requisite in order to master them, though they are no greater in Southwell than in other writers of the same school.¶

The next group of Southwell's works are what we should now call "open letters," i.e., letters written for publication, to wit: (1) *An Epistle of Comfort to Reverend Priestes and to the Honorable, worshipful and other of the Laye*

* The autograph is at Stonyhurst, *Anglia* I., n. 22.

† Diego Yepez, *Historia de la persecucion de Inglaterra*, 1599, p. 482.

‡ Stonyhurst MSS., Grene, *Collectanea* N., iii., fol. 77.

§ *The Complete Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.* (Fuller Worthies' Library), by A. R. Grosart, 1872.

¶ H. Thurston, "Southwell, the Euphuist," in the *Month*. Feb., 1895, p. 232

sort, restrained in *Durance for the Catholicke Faith*; (2) the *Letter to his Father*; (3) *Letter to his Brother*; and (4) *A Humble Supplication to Her Majestie*.^{*} These beautiful examples of Elizabethan prose may be truly said to cry for an editor. Mr. Walter's popular edition of 1828 is lamentably uncritical and unreliable.

Though Southwell never seems to have put pen to paper except for a religious purpose, the third group of his writings are distinctly "ascetical." They are, *A Short Rule of Good Life*, the *Hundred Meditations on the Love of God*, the unpublished *Meditationes* at Stonyhurst, and the *Exercitia et Devotiones* at Brussels. All have interesting bibliographical features. The *Short Rule of Good Life*, says More, "was written for the Countess of Arundel, and was afterwards published for the benefit of many."[†] It is a free adaptation to her circumstances of some parts of the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius. The treatise, however, also contains several chapters, such as "Of the care of Servants," "Of the care of my Children," which are quite original and well adapted to the needs of the day. There are also towards the end a considerable number of prayers.

The difference between the Catholic and Protestant editions is remarkable and of considerable importance, in view of the particular object for which the *Revisio Scriptorum* is made. The extremely rare Catholic edition, known to me through the copy at Lambeth Library, bears no printer's name, or date or place of publication. Though the paper seems to be English, it was presumably printed abroad, perhaps at St. Omers, soon after the author's death in 1595.[‡]

^{*} We have had to get copies made of the texts of three of the four pieces mentioned above, *i.e.*, (for 1) the undated edition marked "Paris"; (for 2) the undated first edition [St. Omers]; (for 3) the edition of 1876, from the Bodleian MSS; (for 4) the Inner Temple Library, Petyt MSS, n. 538, vol. 36 ff. 56-77, compared with the printed edition dated 1595.

[†] *Historia Provinciae Angl.*, S.J., 1660, p. 185.

[‡] Father Nathaniel Southwell (*vere* Bacon), who helped Father Alegambe to re-edit Ribadeneira's *Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu* in 1643, says the book was brought out at St. Omers, and Douay *saepius*. But the supposed Douay edition is probably a mistake for the Benedictine Batt's edition of a work by St. Bernard, with similar title (Gillow i., 156), printed by Kellam at Douay in 1633. If so, this would leave St. Omers for the edition before us.

But Southwell's poems had made a considerable mark in England. Protestant publishers were frequently reproducing his works, and gradually toning down some of their more distinctively Catholic passages.* The *Registers of the Stationers Company* show us that John Wolf "entered for his copie, under the handes of Master Harsnet and Master Ponsonby, a book called *Short Rules of Good Life*," on the 25th of November, 1598.† Whether any copies of Wolf's edition survive, I cannot ascertain. William Barret's edition, on the other hand, for which he obtained leave on the 13th of July, 1620, is known through several editions, and here we find many changes in the text, affecting perhaps one quarter of the whole. Their object is not exactly to protestantize the book, but to water down its Catholicity until it should no longer jar on the High Anglicans of that day. It would take too long to attempt any systematic proof of this, and for the purposes of the *Perquisitio Scriptorum*, the only practical course has been to provide copies both of the Catholic version and of the presumably Protestant variants.‡

The *Exercitia et Devotiones* have never yet been printed, and their interest lies in this—that they are the best record we have of the growth in holiness of a soul so remarkable as Southwell's. They are, in fact, his lights in prayer, noted down during his novitiate and early years in the religious state. A manuscript, which was probably the original autograph, belonged at one time to Alban Butler, and later on to the library of Sir Thomas Phillips, but was afterwards sold at Sotheby's,§ and its locality is

* H. Thurston, "Father Southwell, the Popular Poet," in the *Month*, March, 1895, vol. 83, p. 383.

† E. Arber, *Stationers Company Registers*, vol. iii., p. 44.

‡ It may be noted that in the Protestant revision the title takes the plural number, "Short Rules." The Catholic title is *A Short Rule*. Father Henry More translates correctly "scripsit regulam bene vivendi." (*Historia*, p. 185). But J. Pitts (1619), N. Southwell, etc., give the plural, and so does James de Villegas, who translated the book into Flemish in 1625 (Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque*, d.C.d.f. viii.) (82).

§ C. Edmund's Preface to the "Fourfold Meditation" in the *Isham Reprints* (1895). With this there seems to have gone a draft of the *Hundred Meditations*, entitled "Meditationes Roberti Sotueli M. de attributis Divinis ad amorem Dei excitantes." The lot at Sotheby's was 1050, and the sale was on March 26th, year not mentioned.

now unknown to us. For our purpose we have a transcript, which the Bollandist Fathers have kindly had made from an old copy, which is now in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels (cod. 5618). This is dated the 11th of February, 1607, and was transcribed from Southwell's autograph.

The asceticism of these notes is, I daresay, not very original—that which he learnt from his Master of Novices. But the deep feeling, the poetic lingering on thoughts that were beautiful and striking, these are eminently characteristic of Southwell. The memoranda for times of sickness, "Recordanda in ægritudine" (fol. 32), are noteworthy, and leave the reader under the impression that sickness exercised the future Martyr's patience not a little during his stay in Rome. The points which pleased his contemporaries most were such outpourings of his soul as that in gratitude to God for his vocation (fol. 31), or that in which he makes a quaint but beautiful comparison of the respective advantages of an early death and a long penitential life (fol. 57). Six extracts of this nature will be found in More,* and others in Tanner's *Societas Jesu Militans*.† It would seem as though Southwell had the custom of giving away copies of his Latin verses, or of prayers in Latin prose,‡ just as in some countries priests give pious pictures. The reason for this conjecture is that Stonyhurst possesses one such set of verses with the autograph signature, "*Tuus in Dño Robertus Sotuellus*." There are also preserved other fragments, unsigned, but which may have been intended for similar uses. Some of the quotations in More and elsewhere may have come from such sources, as they do not seem to come from the *Exercitia*.

Of Southwell's correspondence, we have, alas, now

* H. Morus, *Historia Provinciæ Anglicanæ*, pp. 173-188.

† M. Tanner, *Societas Jesu . . . militans*, 1675, p. 33. In the Scotch College at Vienna, cod. 501, there are several such extracts introduced as a preface to a miscellaneous collection of Jesuit ascetical works, and this has led to the conjectural ascription of the whole volume to Southwell, which, however, cannot be maintained.

‡ Stonyhurst MSS. A., v. 4, a volume containing some other fragments of Latin, "*Meditationes, Precationes*," &c. The signature is reproduced in Grosart's "illustrated" edition, p. 84.

comparatively few scraps, in all thirteen letters, mostly imperfect, whereas Father More more than once tantalizes us with references to a collection, which he styles Southwell's *Epistolæ Familiares*, and which evidently numbered more than thirty-nine letters. This precious MS. appears to have entirely disappeared.

There is one part of the bibliography of Southwell which I must at present pass over summarily. We have seen that very considerable licence has been taken by editors in adapting such books as the *Short Rule* to the public taste. The demand for Southwell's works also led to various works being assigned to him which were certainly not his. In all there are seven works conjecturally put under his name which are not being sent up with this collection of documents. A list of them, however, and reasons for their non-appearance, will be put in, so that they may be called for if wanted.

Finally, we have to note the curious fact that one of Southwell's books, his *Supplication to Her Majestie*, appears to have been denounced to the Inquisition, a distinction which has not fallen to the lot of any other writing of an English Martyr.*

On closer investigation, however, it is found that the denunciation was probably not serious. It was made (or threatened) by one of the secular clergy during their appeal to Rome against the Archpriest Blackwell in 1602, and it seems to have been meant as a counter-stroke to the denunciation made by the Archpriest's procurators, of a series of excerpts taken from the writings of the Appellants, or rather, from those of Watson, the 'Quodlibet' maker, almost all the passages complained of being found in his works. But the Appeal came to an end immediately afterwards, and the denunciations were laid aside and forgotten. If the original attack upon Southwell was possibly or probably insincere, and soon abandoned, and even then unlikely to lead to anything, much more will an unprejudiced perusal of the sentences supposed to be

* The passages impugned have been printed in T. G. Law's *Archpriest Controversy*, vol. ii., pp. 95-98, and are apparently intended to prove that the author had written with exaggerated deference about Queen Elizabeth.

incriminating fail to redound to Southwell's discredit at the present day.*

When we arrange the martyrs by the quantity of their work which has been published, we shall certainly have to place the Franciscan, Father Arthur (in religion, Francis) Bell next to Southwell. He was a diligent translator, and printed at Douay, during the years 1624-1625, English versions of *The Rule of the Third Order of St. Francis*, of *Soto on the Mass*, and of *The Life of Sister Joan of the Crosse*. Examples of the first and last are to be found at the British Museum, and transcripts of them have been added to our collection by the diligence of Father Thaddeus, O.S.F. A copy of the version of Soto has not been found, but this should not hinder the martyr's cause, as the book is, after all, only a translation.

The British Museum also possesses the martyr's very curious edition of his father's will with annotations.† These latter contain much casual, out-of-the-way information on the customs of our Catholic forefathers, mixed up with controversy, autobiography, and family history. With this is probably connected the manuscript of the same character now in the possession of Mr. Hartwell Grissell, which may be described as a series of memoranda on his own career, *e.g.*, the names of the friars with whom he had lived, the dates of the various events in his own life down to 1638.

After Father Bell we may most fittingly notice the other martyred writers of the same order. First of these is the Venerable Thomas Belchiam (1538), whom Thomas Bourchier describes as "vir longe doctissimus."‡ He put forth in manuscript, as was often done in those days, a tract beginning with the words, *Mollibus induti vestimentis in domibus Regum sunt*, "The words, most dear brothers, are those of our Saviour," etc. The sermon (as it seems

* The documents bearing on the subject are enumerated and analysed by me in the *Month* for January, 1902, p. 93-96.

† *The Testament of William Bel*, &c., sett out with annotations by his sonne Francis Bel, Doway, Balthazar Bellin, 1632.

‡ *Historia Ecclesiastica de martyrio fratrum O.S.F. de observantia . . . ab anno 1536 ad 1582* (auctore Fra. Thoma Bourchier), Paris, 1586, pp. 17-19.

to have been) reflects severely on the licence of Henry's courtiers, and blames the court prelates no less plainly for not telling the truth to the King. Bouchier says that though Henry was touched by reading it, he nevertheless ordered it to be burnt. But another copy was preserved by the Observants of Greenwich, who afterwards migrated to Paris, and Bouchier promised to publish it. This, however, he never seems to have done, and the MS, for all we know, has perished.

Father Henry Heath's papers have also perished. The latest edition of the *Certamen Seraphicum** gives a list of thirty writings by this martyr, which show that he was perhaps the most voluminous of all the martyr-writers. His works are all theological or pastoral, presumably the drafts of his lectures, sermons, and pious exhortations. One of them, the *Soliloquia*, was published in 1651, after his martyrdom. There were many editions in Latin, and an English translation was published in 1674, and re-published in 1844.† The autographs of two of his letters are preserved as relics at West Grinstead and East Bergholt.

The first name among the lay-martyrs is that of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel. We have a fair number of his letters—twenty in his Life, seven at the Record Office, and seven at Hatfield. Besides this, we may certainly ascribe to him *The Fourfold Meditation on the Four Last Things*. These verses were attributed to Southwell by an enterprising printer, who published them in 1606. But as we have already seen, the printers of that day took many liberties with Southwell's name, and the best manuscript, which is in the Rawlinson collection at Bodley, gives Lord Arundel as their author.‡ There are more verses in the first edition of Lord Arundel's translation of *The Epistle of*

* *Certamen Seraphicum*, ed. Quaracchi, 1885, p. vii.

† There are said to have been six editions of the original Latin before 1674 (Gillow, iii. 242), the last being at Quaracchi (? 1884). Unfortunately, we have not yet secured a copy for our collection.

‡ The printed edition was re-edited by Father Thurston in the *Month*, October, 1894 (vol. lxxxii., p. 231); the Rawlinson text by Ch. Edmunds, *Isham Reprints*, in 1895. Both editors ascribed the verses to Southwell. Father Thurston, however, expressed many doubts, and allows me to say that he at once changed his opinion after examining the Rawlinson MS.

Christ to the Faithful Soul,* by the Carthusian Johann Justus, of Landsberg (commonly called Lanspergius).† These verses are not unknown to the Catholic public through the "Arundel Hymns," to which they give the title. The Earl's biographer says he wrote "Three Treatises of the Excellency and Utility of Vertue—which never came to light."‡ It is to be feared that these are now altogether lost.

Of William Howard, Lord Stafford, we have some small, but very affecting pieces, his last letters taking leave of his family, his last prayers, the speech he drew up to deliver at the scaffold. It would be hard to find more beautiful examples of deep, but perfectly unpretentious fatherly affection and religious piety.

The third important lay writer is the lawyer Richard Langhorn. By good fortune, Christopher Lord Hatton preserved a large number of his letters, for Langhorn was his London agent, and kept him supplied with news when out of town. There are ninety-five in all, ranging over thirteen years. One might have thought that they would contain little that illustrated the higher, religious side of Langhorn's character, for Lord Hatton was not a Catholic. Yet the goodness of the lawyer's heart is perpetually manifesting itself, sometimes in pleading for a poor creditor, sometimes in his endeavours to get his master to gamble less. He talks quite freely about his Catholicism, and one soon perceives that while this practical business-man is on the one hand a perfectly simple, straight-forward John Bull, he has also a deeply conscientious and religious soul. Like many men of his day, he held advanced views upon the

* Antwerp, 1595 (copy at Lambeth). On June 13th, 1594, Father Henry Walpole, when examined about the Earl of Arundel, answered: "I do not remember anything of moment, only . . . I have heard say that he had written verses" (R. O. Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. 249, n. 13).

† Lanspergius' work is entitled [*Libri*] *Alloquiorum Jesu Christi ad quamvis animam*. The *Pars Tertia* of this is that which the translator has worked upon. His version is faithful, though not slavish. Several of Lanspergius' *Canones* are sometimes joined in one chapter, and the *Pars Quarta* is reduced to two sets of rules. *Lanspergii Opera Omnia* (Monstrolii, 1888) vol. iv. pp. 312–460. The rest of the prayers in the edition of 1595 are presumably by the translator. The edition of 1610 follows the text of 1595 very accurately, but omits the prayers and verses at the end.

‡ *Life of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel*, 1857, p. 106.

King's prerogative, and wrote a long legal opinion on *The King's right to dispense with the penal laws*, which was afterwards printed by his son.

We may next turn to Henry Walpole, S.J., and William Ward, a secular priest. The latter was, for a while, the Paris correspondent, or agent of the English Clergy for the ecclesiastical business which had to be transacted between England, France, and Rome. Fifteen pieces of his correspondence * in this capacity remain, and I will only say of them here that, whereas one might have expected to find in them many decidedly partisan statements about the current controversies (such as that about the Oath of Allegiance, or that about the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chalcedon) which were being waged with so much warmth, one is relieved to find that these burning subjects are handled in a perfectly quiet, businesslike way. The papers of Father Henry Walpole have a sadder interest. On the one hand, his correspondence (twenty-seven pieces) and his verses bring him vividly before us a charming, refined, perhaps somewhat sensitive English gentleman. On the other, his confessions show that his nerve failed him for a while when he had fallen into the hands of Elizabeth's brutalized priest-hunters. What with torture and the threat of torture, the sufferer was thrown off his balance, and wrote some long confessions which are anything but heroic. He gives, for instance, the names of Catholics, whom he ought to have protected, offered to study Protestant writers, and even "to reform myself as it shall please Her Majesty to appoint me," and "never again to return to Popery." † This is, of course, indefensible; but when we read all the papers together, we see that although he failed to be heroic, he was never utterly craven. Moreover, these waverings did not last long. He recovered himself completely, and during the final combat bore himself with a dignity and courage which left nothing to be desired.

We may next turn to those who have contributed poetry

* Westminster Archives, and Farm St. MSS, the dates run from 1615 to 1625.

† R. O. Domestic, Elizabeth, vol. 249, five pieces, June, 1594.

or verse. We have already spoken of Southwell and Lord Arundel, and must now go back to one earlier than either of these. This was the Welshman, Richard White, of Montgomeryshire, a Cambridge man, who followed the profession of a "schoolmaster," or, as we should say, of a tutor to the sons of gentlemen. Mr. Hobson Matthews possesses a MS., dated 1670, containing five of his Welsh "Caroley," hitherto unprinted. Their date may be conjecturally determined by the last of them, which refers to the outbreak of jaol fever at the Oxford Assizes on the 4th of July, 1577, when Roland Jenks, a bookseller and a Catholic, was condemned. On that occasion the infection carried off almost all the judges, jury, and sheriffs who were present.

White's "Carols" are all of a religious, not to say controversial, character. They deal with the beauties of the Church, the frauds of the Protestant persecutors, and encourage the faithful to perseverance.

John Ingram, once of New College, Oxford, a secular priest, whiled away the weary hours he waited for death in the Tower of London by scratching Latin verses with a knife upon his prison wall. He afterwards gave Father Holtby a copy of them, part of which autograph survives at Stonyhurst, together with a complete transcript in Father Holtby's hand.* Almost all his sets of verse have some fault or other of diction, which might nowadays be considered more serious than it was then. On the other hand, point, spirit, force, and poetical feeling are never absent.

Lack of an editor is probably the reason why so little notice has been taken of Father Walpole's verses. The lines of Campion's death, beginning :

Why do I use my paper, ink and pen,
Or call my wits to counsel what to say,

are the best known, and have been much praised.† Here it should be added that there was a tradition in the Walpole family, recorded by Father Nathaniel Southwell, that Henry

* Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, vii., No. 8. ; ii., 12.

† A. Jessop, *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, p. 106 ; R. Simpson, *Ballad Society Publications*, vol. ii. ; *Select Poetry* (Parker Society) i., 224.

was the author of the other pieces which appeared at the same time in the *True Report of the Martyrdom of Mr. Campion*, 1581, and which begin, "Is righteous Lot from sinful Sodom gone," and "O God, from sacred throne beholde our secret sorrowes here." But they have also been ascribed to Vallenger, who had his ears cut off for printing them.

Our collection has been the occasion of the identification of another piece by Walpole, which was previously supposed to be lost. Father Christopher Grene had made a note of a "Suavissimum Canticum," written by the martyr while in prison, beginning with the words, "My thirsty soule." But the MS. of the English College, Rome, quoted by Grene, had perished in the desolation which overtook the College and its archives, when the Jesuits were suppressed, and it was supposed that the "Canticum" had disappeared. But the great *Catalogue of first Lines* in the British Museum pointed out the existence of another copy in the hand (so Mr. Gillow tells me) of a seventeenth century Jesuit, Father Laurence Anderton, who entitles it "A Prisoner's Song." It begins:—

My thirsty soule desires her drought
At heavenlie fountaines to refresh,
My prisoned mind would faine be out
Of chaines and fetters of the flesh.

Then comes what the poet calls "the undersong":—

Jerusalem, thy joyes devine,
Noe joyes may be compared to them;
Noe people blessed soe as thine,
Noe cittie like Hierusalem, &c.

The smoothness of the lines, which is above the level of the minor poets of that day, and the elevation of mind which inspires every word of the poor, tortured, doomed prisoner, give these verses a singular interest, and go far to justify Father Grene's admiring epithet "Suavissimum."*

The next set of verses is that of the Jacobean Martyr,

* Grene's note is found in his *Collectanea N.I.* (olim. ii.), fol. 3 (Stonyhurst MSS). Laurence Anderton's MS. in Brit. Mus. *Additional*, 15,225, fol. 39.

John Thulis,* a secular Priest. For the preservation of this "Song" we have again to thank Father Anderton, and to the same intelligent collector we owe our earliest version of the hymn beginning :—

O blessed God, O Saviour sweet,
O Jesu, look on me;
O Christ, my King, refuse me not,
Though late I come to Thee.

This is generally ascribed to Nicholas Postgate, Priest, martyred during Oates' Plot (1679). As he was over 80 years then, he may conceivably have written this before 1620 or thereabouts, when Anderton was making his collection. But it cannot be denied that the comparatively early date of this text makes against the Postgate authorship.

It was only to be expected that there should have been a considerable number of sermons in the collection before us. From Father Peter Wright we have no less than sixty-three, preached while he was in Belgium. Then there are also single sermons of John Bost, Henry Heath, O.S.F., and Thomas Whitbread, S.J. The pleadings of the martyrs during their trials, and their last speeches on the scaffold, might have been included under this category if our task had been to expand to the utmost our collection of the martyrs' works. For their beatification, however, this is not necessary, partly because these same speeches must perforce be examined over again; partly because the reports of the martyrs' speeches, such as we have them, were generally put together by others from memory after the event. Thus, though they are invaluable evidence as to the spirit in which the martyrs met their fate, they cannot strictly be called their genuine works.†

It is somewhat interesting to note that *Scripta* have been obtained from almost all the great manuscript depositories

* Partly printed in my *Acts of English Martyrs*, p. 204.

† Reports are preserved of the last speeches of the following MM. : Evans, Fenwick, Gavin, Howard Lord Stafford, Kemble, Lewis, Lloyd, Mahoney, Plessington, Postgate, Southworth, Thwing, Turner, Wall, Whitbread. Lord Stafford is said to have read his speech from a paper.

in England. It was not necessary or advisable to go back for each document to the autograph of the martyr when a reliable edition of it was already known. If, however, we had done so, then Stonyhurst would probably have been the largest contributor, containing, as its archives do, most of the best texts of Southwell, as well as Wright's sermons and many autograph letters. The archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster have yielded a score or two of valuable documents. From the British Museum and the Record Office we have, of course, a considerable number of documents of all sorts, while pieces have come in of which the originals are in the libraries or relic cases of the Catholic colleges and convents of Ushaw, Oscott, Old Hall, East Bergholt, West Grinstead, St. Mary Abbot's, etc. Others again from private collections, such as those of Lord Herries, Mr. Hartwell Grissell, and Mr. Hobson Mathews. Finally some from Hatfield and Oxford, Brussels, Rome, and Valladolid.*

To complete our review of the subject, something should have been said, did space allow, about *opera dubia* and *opera perdit*a. But the subject is too large to treat fully here, and we must restrict ourselves to a few comments on a single volume. There is at Downside a remarkable MS. which once belonged to the martyr Langhorn. The Catholic Judge Milton, the brother of the poet, afterwards became its owner, and he bequeathed it to an unknown person, who has written on the front page, "Richard Langhorn is *supposed to be* the author of this history, left me by Judge Milton." Later still some one has cancelled the words "supposed to be," so that the tradition based upon the MS. naturally ascribed it to the martyr.† But a careful comparison of the handwriting with the signed autographs of the martyr shows that he was not the scribe, and a more careful study of the contents of the volume

* We are under obligations to those connected with the direction of the above-named libraries, obligations too many and too varied to be specified in detail here. Speaking in the name of other *cultores martyrum*, I beg to thank them, and many other co-operators, for the almost endless pains and trouble which they have taken, quite gratuitously, for the sake of a good cause, desiring no other reward than to see its satisfactory progress.

† J. Gillow, *Bibliographical Dictionary*, iv., 131.

tends to the conclusion that the codex was written before Langhorn was born, or at least before he had reached the age of reason. So instead of putting in a copy of this MS., a paper will be inserted with the reasons for and against its ascription to Langhorn, so that the Roman censors may make up their own minds whether they require it or no.

As we look over the collection as a whole, two rather striking conclusions suggest themselves. The first is rather sad. It is evident that there was a remarkable falling off in the literary skill of the English clergy as the years of persecution wore on. Cut off from universities, without freedom of the press, living in seclusion, our priests had neither the means of learning nor the incentive of teaching, nor the opportunity of writing and speaking. It may, indeed, be said that the whole nation went back after the Elizabethan period. But the Catholic clergy evidently retrograded more than the others. Both in the quality and the quantity of their literary output, as also in the aim and execution of their work, our seventeenth century martyr-writers fall far, far below those of the sixteenth.

Finally, we may return to a topic which suggested itself from the first. What, let us ask ourselves, will be the probable result of Rome's verdict on these documents? We do not in any way desire to anticipate Rome's judgment in detail upon this or that paper, but at least we may reasonably speculate whether there is "any case to go to jury," whether there is anything which could possibly militate against the beatification of any of the martyrs. To such questions the answer would seem to be affirmative. We have already noticed the compromising character of certain passages in Father Henry Walpole's examinations. In the examinations of other martyrs we find more passages of a similar character, though in none is the conflict between human weakness and God's grace so evident as in Walpole's case. Then we have the rather strange case of Edward Morgan, a Welsh priest, who entered the Jesuit novitiate, but could not remain "*propter intemperiem quandam capitis*." He was an odd man, and, as odd

people so often do, took unnecessary and out-of-the-way means to demonstrate that he really was as sound in his mind as anyone else. Hence the existence of two long papers, one in the Westminster archives, one in those of St. Alban's, Valladolid, where he was ordained, in defence of his physical and theological sanity. One cannot believe that any of these papers will prove a hindrance to beatification ; but after all they might do so—they are certainly cases in which Rome ought to adjudicate ; without her judgment we should never feel absolutely secure against objections to the *cultus* of these martyrs.

For the rest, it is really wonderful how very few uncharitable words, how little passion, grumbling, disobedience, or scandal is to be found in this miscellaneous mass of papers. We must remember that the period in which our martyrs suffered was that which witnessed the appeals against the Archpriest Blackwell, the controversies regarding the Oath of Allegiance, and over the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Chalcedon, and the rise of Jansenism. The heat generated in those who took part in these clerical combats was phenomenal. If we trusted the accounts given by the combatants on either side, we should believe that the whole world was divided between their rival camps, and burnt with fury not dissimilar to their own. But turning to the papers before us, the papers of the non-combatants, we find a contrast so great as to be really surprising. There is an almost absolute silence on all the burning questions. In the Appellant controversy we have only four documents, two on each side, each of which bear many signatures of priests, with a few martyrs among them. On the other disputed points we have practically nothing controversial at all. This is the more noteworthy when we remember that controversial papers are especially likely to be preserved, each side desiring to perpetuate the evidence which, as they think, justifies them ; and that, in point of fact, the number of papers which are preserved on the above topics is very large indeed.

The explanation, so far as we can give one, is no doubt this, that the persecution fell upon the most heroic of the workers, not on the most zealous of those who guarded the

interests of the different clerical bodies. It was not the former, but the latter, who were the controversialists, and they lived perforce in retirement or abroad in comparative safety. On the other hand, the persecutors, though they did not explicitly pick and choose their victims, yet from the nature of the case they were most infuriated against the most apostolic missionaries; and the most apostolic men would be those who were least inclined to spend their time in fighting for their own interests in any form.

Be this as it may, we cannot arise from the survey of the martyr's writings, fragmentary, miscellaneous, sometimes even uncouth, as they undeniably are, without the conviction—the more deep because produced without conscious effort on the part of the writers—that we have been reading the words of religious heroes, men who are truly worthy of being proclaimed saints.

J. H. POLLEN.

ART. X.—THE *TAO-TÊH KING*, OR “PRO-
VIDENTIAL GRACE” CLASSIC.

(IN TWO DIVISIONS.)

THE literary combination *tao-têh* (*iter-virtus*) occurs centuries before Lao-tsz was born. I have, with the aid of the splendid eighteenth-century concordances of this dynasty, hunted up every one of the five thousand words, or combinations of words, occurring in the Taoist classic, and I find that practically every single thought in it has been foreshadowed (usually word for word) either in the Book of History, Book of Rites, Record of Rites, Book of Changes, Book of Odes, or in other very ancient work. A few expressions seem, it is true, to show that Lao-tsz, who was a senior contemporary of Confucius, drew some ideas from much more modern sources than those enumerated, and sources equally available to Confucius. It will be remembered that Confucius deliberately pruned and re-edited the greater part of the oldest classical literature (which has, thus modified, come down to us) with the object of expunging matter inconsonant with his uncompromisingly imperial and conservative principles. Hence, if Lao-tsz uses a few expressions not found in the ancient classics, it is fair to assume that he used the still un mutilated books. Even in our own times, the Manchu concordances seem to omit references to any of Lao-tsz's doctrines which make for Radicalism against Imperialism. It is plain to us all, from a simple perusal of Lao-tsz's own work, that he was a “Radical ;” and thus plain, also, how it came to pass that, despite the favour shown to Taoism by a few Emperors, in the

long run Confucius "caught on" with successive dynasties better than the Chinese Carlyle. It was then the interest of Emperors, as it is now the interest of Czars, to keep Lao-tsz's style of wisdom to themselves, allowing the people to surcharge it with the mysticism and gross superstition which in China now bury it from sight; thus rendering it contemptible in its disguise to all but exceptionally deep thinkers and the credulous vulgar. In the same way, a Pobyedonóschtschoff is more cherished in Russian court circles than a Tolstoy, and the Czar goes on a pilgrimage to the newly discovered manifestation. Confucius said he would have liked to give up fifty years to the study of the Book of Changes. The Book of Changes is, indeed, rather a book of hints; and, of course, a speculative hint may, by the light of subsequent discovery, turn out as easily to be sublime science as to be silly twaddle. Hence Confucius's curiosity about the Book of Changes, and hence its charm over the speculative Chinese mind even to this day. Lao-tsz simply constructed, chiefly from the same unintelligible book of cosmical hints, a system of fairly intelligible, if obscure, philosophy phrased on then existing didactical literary models; and the numerous contemporaries and successors of his, working in the same field, all freely used the common and sanctioned abstract expressions then in vogue. During his life Lao-tsz, who held an important office at the King's (*i.e.*, the later Emperor's) court, both by reason of his central position and of his special abilities, naturally had the highest "Radical" repute among the thinking men dotted about in the feudatory courts. To select from later writers on Taoism a few of these trite passages which all Taoists then used and still use, and thence argue that Lao-tsz's work is a mere patchwork of retrospective forgery, is not at all justified by the historical facts available to us. Authors, two thousand years ago, being human, were, in matters of publishers' "etiquette," probably like authors of to-day. In any case, nearly all Chinese literature antecedent to B.C. 213 had to pass the ordeal of the "destruction of the books" in that year; so that the Renaissance authors naturally stood a better chance of publicity than

the writers of Lao-tsz's time. Moreover, if some of them failed to mention Lao-tsz at all, or even borrowed his thoughts, it was perhaps because both author and thoughts were common property all over "the world," as it was then known. For instance, Professor H. A. Giles, of Cambridge, who has pleaded hardest for the retrospective forgery view, never once, in his very excellent Chinese-English Dictionary, mentions Dr. S. W. Williams' Chinese-English Dictionary, nor even his bare name; yet Professor Giles, when asked to explain certain reproduced statements in his Dictionary, frankly told us later on in the *China Review* that he had extensively utilised Williams' labours throughout, and had often accepted him as an unquestioned authority when no other evidence was available. It would be very hard upon Williams, then, if future generations should condemn his earlier work as a forgery based on the later work of Giles, who simply reconstructed and enlarged it. Professor Giles is, of course, entitled to his opinion on Taoism, but it is always regrettable when, on insufficient evidence, a prominent man roundly declares for a downright "heresy;" if only because frail human nature is apt, in self-defence, to rake together and make selections from all available evidence merely in order to justify such heresy. And surely it is rank heresy to refuse all credit to one of the best-established and most tenacious things in Chinese literary history.

In the present translation I simply give what Lao-tsz appears to me to wish to say, so far as his comparatively untrained logical capacity had any "water-tight" ideas at all. In concrete suggestion he is distinctly ahead of the Book of Changes; yet his powerful, laconic style still leaves far too much to our modern imaginations. Thus, in our own style, "stuff a cold and starve a fever" may be expressive; but, unfortunately, it may mean either of two contradictory things, *i.e.*, that you *must* stuff a cold in order to starve a fever, or that if you try to stuff a cold you will *have* to starve a fever. So far am I from insisting that my translation is right, that I am ready to incontinently abandon each sentence on evidence brought forward that such translated sentence will not "hold water." I totally

ignore all that both Chinese and foreigners have hitherto said as to Lao-tsz's meaning. My only "dossier" is the thousand or more of extracts I have culled, with the assistance of concordances, from works chiefly anterior to Lao-tsz, to which I add for my own use useful extracts from Chinese poets (A.D. 300-900), showing how they subsequently used the words of Lao-tsz in constructing their ballads, panegyrics, condolences, or sonnets. Any one who wishes to know my authority for a specific "meaning" can have it; and if he can give me better evidence than I possess, I shall be thankful. The whole translation has been made at odd moments whilst travelling in the Baltic regions, without any books or references whatever, except the above-mentioned original extracts carried along with me. My only "worry" has been lest General Bobrikoff and his myrmidons should mistake my Lao-tsz for a new Finnish constitution couched in cypher, and my thousand and one cryptic notes for "heads" of speeches to be made by me in haranguing the distressful Suomi, who are now shaking the inhospitable Russian dust from their feet in thousands.

I have, in every single case where the words *tao* and *têh* occur, translated them by "Providence" and "Grace." As Lao-tsz himself could not find words expressing full meanings to his satisfaction, I certainly think I have a right to choose my own; the more so in that my two words make the whole subject consistently intelligible, which no such words as "God," "The Way," &c., seem to do. The numerous reference numbers scattered over each chapter illustrate how other chapters repeat the same or similar ideas, and thus how "water" is held in throughout. The classic, in its usual form, consists of eighty-one chapters in two divisions, which may be arbitrarily defined as that on Providence and that on Grace, respectively. I hope to give the second division in the next issue of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

E. H. PARKER.

DIVISION I.—PROVIDENCE.

1. The Providence which could be indicated by words would not be an all-embracing Providence, nor would any name by which we could name it be an ever-applicable name (*cf.* 14, 21, 25, 32, 37).

"Non-existence" is a name for the beginning of heaven and earth. "Existence" is a name for the genetrix of the innumerable objects (*cf.* 4, 10, 25, 32, 37) of creation.

Hence, "absolute non-existence" suggests to us the miraculous working (*cf.* 27) of what in "absolute existence" has become the resulting essence (*cf.* 21).

These two emanate from the same, though their namings are dissimilar, and jointly they are termed "state of colourless dissolution" (*cf.* 10). Dissolution, again, within dissolution thus connects us with the various miraculous workings (*cf.* 6, 27).

2. All the world knows what "agreeable" means, and this necessarily connotes "disagreeable"; it knows in the same way what "good" is, which connotes "not good" (*cf.* 29, 36).

Hence, "existence" and "non-existence" (*cf.* 34) have a common birth; "difficult" and "easy" have a common creation; "long" and "short" have a common obviousness; "high" and "low" present a common contrast; "sound-waves" and "noise" have a common unison; "before" and "after" have a common sequence (*cf.* 10, 14).

Thus the highest form of man performs his functions without display of activity (*cf.* 37) and conveys his lessons without display of words (*cf.* 5).

The innumerable objects do similarly function, and this without fail (*cf.* 21, 34).

Birth without existence (*cf.* 10); doing, without showing self-consciousness; achieving results, without claiming them (*cf.* 9, 22).

And it is precisely that no claim being made the results do not vanish (*cf.* 10, 22, 33).

3. Do not show partiality for "high character," and then

you will make people refrain from competing for such distinction. Place no special value upon rare possessions, and thus you will remove folk's temptation to robbery (*cf.* 12, 19). Do not let that which is covetable stand before the eye, and in this way the mind will not be disturbed.

Hence the administration of the highest form of man is directed to keeping the mind unpreoccupied, and to keeping the belly full (*cf.* 35). He takes strength from the will, and adds strength to the bones, in this way causing the people to be always ignorant of what they thus never covet; or, at any rate, causing those possessing this knowledge to shrink from any action upon it. By this policy of "not raising incidents" everything will conform to order (*cf.* 10, 15, 24, 29, 35).

4. Providence used with restraint need not exhibit its full force (*cf.* 9). It is profound; and like, as it were, the ancestral progenitor of the innumerable objects (*cf.* 1). It checks undue impulse, solves entanglements, subdues undue brightness, and equalises what is disagreeable. Balmy, as though preserving life (*cf.* 27). I do not know whose offspring it is, but indications suggest what is anterior to any monarchs (*cf.* 25).

5. Heaven and earth entertain no benevolence, making the innumerable objects serve their respective purposes, just like we utilise the straw hounds in exorcising at sacrifices. In the same way the highest form of man entertains no over-tender feeling, utilising the people just like we use the same straw hounds.

We might say the space between heaven and earth will compare with a bellows; being empty, and yet not curved, needing only movement to put forth its power. So it is that the more talk we employ (*cf.* 2) the sooner we reach our wits' ends (*cf.* 23); whence it is better to hold a medium course.

6. The spirit of the valley of space never dies (*cf.* 15), and this is what is called the progenetrix of neutral dissolution (*cf.* 1), and the connection of this dissolution progenetrix (*cf.* 25) may be termed the root of heaven and earth. It extends into eternity like a preserver of life (*cf.* 4), and is inexhaustible in its uses (*cf.* 35).

7. Heaven is enduring, and earth is lasting. The reason why heaven and earth are capable of this is that, not having created *themselves* from any thing, they are thus able to go on existing for ever. Thus it is that the highest form of man keeps his personality in the background, and yet it asserts itself (*cf.* 1, 22); treats his own existence from an objective point of view, and yet preserves that existence. It is not that he possesses no individuality, but it is in this way that he is capable of developing his individuality.

8. The highest beneficence resembles water, for water is always ready to benefit the innumerable objects, yet never contests place with them (*cf.* 34). It is content with that low level which all men abhor, and in this respect bears some analogy to Providence, which always places itself to the best advantage, excogitates with the calmest depth, dispenses benefits with the maximum benevolence, speaks with the greatest truth, governs in the highest spirit of order, utilises the best abilities, and moves on the most suitable occasions. In a word, making no self-assertive effort, it is never ill-advised (*cf.* 22).

9. It were better to drop a matter altogether than to push it to fullest extremes (*cf.* 4, 29). If a point be ground down too fine, it will not wear so long. If your treasures fill the whole house, you will not be able to look after them all. A man who is supercilious about his wealth and position breeds disaster for himself. To retire your personality after your objects are gained and your reputation made (*cf.* 2, 8)—such is the Providence of Heaven.

10. Carry along your soul with singleness of purpose (*cf.* 22, 35), and see if you can be constant. Concentrate your efforts upon gentleness, and see how far you can be like an infant (*cf.* 28). Take disinterested and dispassionate views of things (*cf.* 16), and see how far you can be without blemish. Love the people and order your State so far as possible without making work (*cf.* 3, 35). The process of evolution opens and closes, with a certain indispensable female element (*cf.* 1, 20, 28). The process of intelligence develops itself with a certain indispensable element of formal science (*cf.* 27, 36). There is birth and there is

nurture (*cf.* 51 in Division II.). There may be birth without concrete existence, just as there may be action without assertion of it, and development without direction of it (*cf.* 34); and this is what we may style the colourless dissolution of Grace (*cf.* 1).

11. Just as thirty spokes united in one hub make up the serviceability of a wheel by reason of the hollow centre; or as manipulated clay turned into a vessel becomes serviceable as such by reason of the vacuum within; just as the spaces for windows and doors left in building a house contribute to the serviceability of a dwelling by reason of what is *not* there; so in the same way what concretely exists of our personalities is "value received," which may be further realised by reason of any intangible uses to which we may spiritually put those persons.

12. The five primary colours are apt to find eyes blind to them; the five musical notes are apt to find ears deaf to them; the five flavours are each apt to be too sharp to the taste; the violent exercise of the chase on horseback is apt to produce a corresponding craziness of mind. The possession of rare objects (*cf.* 3) is apt to be adversely obtained. Hence the highest form of man pays more attention to what is in him than to visible things, and ignores the latter for the sake of the former.

13. Be apprehensive alike of favour and disapproval (*cf.* 28). Regard great evils as though they affected your own person. What do I mean by "favour and disapproval"? The one connotes the other, and you should accept favour with the apprehension that you may one time lose it. What do I mean by "regarding great evils as though they affected your own person"? The reason why we experience great evils is because we have personality. Had we no persons, what evils could we experience? Hence he who values the empire in his own person may be entrusted with the empire, and he who loves the empire in his own person may be charged with the empire (*cf.* 26).

14. What does not form an image to the eye (*cf.* 35) is characterised as [*i*, or] "unbroken planeness"; what is imperceptible to the sense of hearing is characterised as [*hi*, or] "rarification"; what is not tangible to the grasp is

characterised as [*wei*, or] "abstractness" (cf. 36). As these three qualities* do not permit of further exploration, they may be lumped together as one whole, neither exceptionally brilliant above, nor exceptionally dull below. Ever continuous ! Unsusceptible of a name (cf. 1), it resolves itself once more into a nothingness or non-objectness (cf. 16) ; what may be called shape without form, or aspect without image ; what may be called "fleeting and illusory" (cf. 21). In advancing towards it we distinguish no head ; in following after it, we distinguish no rear (cf. 2) ; thus do we hold on to the ancient Providence, by way of controlling modern actuality : thus can we know the ancient beginnings, or what may be called the phases of Providence.

15. Those who filled offices (cf. 28) most creditably in ancient times possessed an inspired understanding of the [*wei*, or] abstract and the inscrutable, so profound as to be unknowable. And precisely because it was unknowable were they fain to make all possible allowances. They used the prudence of a man crossing rivers during winter, the caution of one dreading to give offence to his neighbours. They were deferential, as though dealing with unfamiliar visitors ; and as compliant as ice, so to speak, which is just on the thaw. They were sound, and like as it were rough-hewn (cf. 28) ; broad-minded as a valley (cf. 6, 28) ; mixing indiscriminately with common men. It is only by leaving the muddy to settle that it gradually becomes clear of itself ; and it is only by a permanent feeling of security or letting alone (cf. 3, 10, 35) that results gradually respond to natural stimulus. Those who abide by Providence of this sort have no wish to assert its full force (cf. 4, 9). In a word, there being no exercise of full force, it is possible to go on wearing it down without needing any fresh renewal of it (cf. 22, 45).

16. Aim at extreme disinterestedness (cf. 10) and maintain the utmost possible calm (cf. 26). The innumerable objects display their activities in common, and all we have to do is to watch into what they resolve themselves (cf. 14) : for each of these swarming objects reverts to its original root

* This *I-hi-wei* is the "Jehovah" spectre conjured up in the imaginations of Rémusat and others.

(*cf.* 14, 28), and this reversion to the root signifies calm ; which is renewed life ; which, again, means perpetuity. To understand this perpetuity is perspicuity (*cf.* 10, 27, 36) : not to understand perpetuity gives rise to mischief and hurt. But to understand perpetuity means tolerance (*cf.* 15, 21) ; and tolerance is public spirit. Public spirit is Rule, and Rule is Heaven. Heaven is Providence, and Providence endures, so that the disappearance of our persons does not imply any crisis to them (*cf.* 25, 32).

17. As to the Final Cause, those below are conscious of its existence, and the next steps are to love it and to praise it ; the next to fear it ; the next to take liberties with it. Hence faith, if insufficient, is apt to become no faith at all (*cf.* 24). It is cautious (*cf.* 15) and weighs words ; so when results are achieved and things evolve (*cf.* 9), the people all say : " We have become so of ourselves " (*cf.* 23, 25).

18. It is only when the highest form of Providence loses its hold on the mind that we hear of benevolence and justice ; and it is only when sagacity and cleverness have begun to appear that we hear of great deceptions. It is only when the six natural social ties begin to work inharmoniously that we hear of filial piety and tenderness ; and it is only when the State falls into incompetence and confusion that we hear of loyal statesmen.

19. Could we put an end to the highest grade of men, and get rid of sagacity, the people would be a hundredfold the better for it. Could we put an end to benevolence and get rid of justice, the people would revert to more primitive filial piety and tenderness. Could we put an end to artfulness and get rid of gain, robbers and thieves would vanish (*cf.* 3). In these three instances it is the inadequacy of our means of literary expression (*cf.* 32) which causes us to create ideals. We should show simplicity and abide by the unartificial : we should have fewer interests and less desire.

20. Could we put a stop to "learning," no great harm would be done. Whether we say "Just so," or "Oh, dear !" what does it matter ? Whether the point is good or is bad, what great difference does it make ? But what all mankind dreads, we are each of us bound to dread. A wilderness ! and with no end to it ! Everyone comes

flocking in as though taking part in the great annual fêtes, or bent upon the satisfaction of desire. I only am indifferent to all this, and feel no inducements: like an infant before he has reached boyhood (*cf.* 10, 28), drifting along in a purposeless manner! Other people all seem to have more than they need, and I only seem to be left out. Indeed I have the mind of a simpleton, going stolidly along. Whilst other men are clear enough, I alone seem to be muddled; whilst other men have their wits about them, I alone am easy-going. Illusory, like the ocean; beating about, like as though without stopping. All other people have something to do, and I only feel like a mean dolt. I only am unlike other men, and I like to seek sustenance from my *mater creatrix* (*cf.* 1, 10, 25).

21. The tolerance (*cf.* 15, 16) of the fullest Grace is based solely upon Providence as a principle; but as to the entity of Providence, it is as fleeting as it is illusory (*cf.* 14). The images suggested by it are illusory in their fleetingness, and the objects yielded by it are just as fleeting in their illusoriness. In that dark vista of space (*cf.* 1) there are vital essences: those essences are unadulterated, and out of them comes truth; and its name never leaves it (*cf.* 1) as it unfolds the panorama of created things. And thus it is that we know of the actual existence of the created things.

22. It is by bending that we survive, by giving way that we assert. It is by lowliness that we exercise full force (*cf.* 4, 9), by wear and tear (*cf.* 15) that we go on renewing. It is by owning little that we possess much (*cf.* 33); by owning much that bewilderment comes. For which reasons the highest form of man is single in purpose (*cf.* 10) as an example to the rest of the world (*cf.* 28). He shines because he does not show himself off; is convincing because he does not justify himself; successful because he does not proclaim success; enduring because he does not assert himself (*cf.* 24). In a word, making no self-assertive effort (*cf.* 2, 8), no one else in the world can successfully assert against him. Thus we cannot say that the ancients*

* Notice Lao-tsz's own allusion to more ancient philosophy.

meant nothing by the expression "Bend and Survive." Of a truth, it is survival and reversion as well (*cf.* 14, 25).

23. Few words and spontaneity! (*cf.* 5, 25). Thus the swishing wind lasts not out the morn, nor does the pelting rain endure throughout the day. And who does this? Heaven and Earth! So, even Heaven and Earth cannot keep up long: how much more, then, is it so in the case of man! Hence those who occupy themselves with Providence are equal in Providence so far as Providence goes; are equal in Grace so far as Grace goes; and are equal in lapses so far as lapses go. As to those equal in Providence, Providence is only too glad to have it so; as to those equal in Grace, Grace is only too glad to have it so; as to those equal in lapses, lapses are only too glad to have it so. When faith is insufficient, it is apt to become no faith at all (*cf.* 17).

24. Those who stand on tip-toe gain no footing; those who sprawl out their legs make no advance. Those who show themselves off do not shine (*cf.* 29); those who justify themselves are not convincing; those who proclaim successes do not succeed; those who assert themselves do not endure (*cf.* 2, 8, 22). Their position as regards Providence is like that of an over-feeder or a fussy-doer (*cf.* 3), which is apt to provoke men's repulsion (*cf.* 31). Hence those who really possess Providence do not willingly consort with such persons.

25. Things existing in a chaotic state had been produced before heaven and earth (*cf.* 1, 32). In solemn silence stood the solitary subjectivity, without any changes taking place; revolving without any crisis (*cf.* 16). We may consider this the "mother of the world" (*cf.* 6, 20). As we cannot know its name, we may apply to it the term "Providence," and make a shift to use the word "greatness" as its name. Now "great" suggests going on, going on suggests distance, and distance suggests return (*cf.* 22). Hence there are the greatness of Providence, the greatness of Heaven, the greatness of Earth, and the greatness of the Emperor (*cf.* 4). There are four majesties in the concrete worldly organism, of which four the Emperor is one. Man looks up to Earth for guidance,

Earth to Heaven, Heaven to Providence, and Providence to Spontaneity (*cf.* 17, 23).

26. Just as what is weighty must be regarded as the fundamental origin or root (*cf.* 6) of what is light, so is calmness the master spirit of impetuosity. For which reason the accomplished man travels throughout the day without leaving his caravan; and though there may be fine things to see, he remains serenely above them all. How, then, should an imperial autocrat "treat lightly" the empire in his own person? (*cf.* 13). By levity he loses his ministers' confidence; by impetuosity he compromises his princely dignity (*cf.* 16).

27. He who walks judiciously leaves no tell-tale footsteps behind. He who speaks judiciously leaves no taint of censoriousness behind. He who calculates judiciously needs no tallies to do it withal. He who closes judiciously can, without the use of bolts, effectually prevent an opening. He who knots judiciously, needs no strings to prevent the untying of it. For which reason the highest form of man always by preference rescues people, and therefore never abandons people; he always by preference rescues creatures (*cf.* 4), and therefore never abandons creatures. This is what is called persisting in clear-sighted intelligence (*cf.* 36). Hence the good man is the teaching model for the bad man, and the bad man is the objective upon which the good man works. He who does not value (*cf.* 13) his model or love (*cf.* 13) his material, must go far wrong, no matter how knowing he be. This is the real mysterious working of it (*cf.* 1).

28. Know the masculine or stronger aspect, but maintain due regard for the feminine or weaker (*cf.* 10, 36), in your capacity of vivifying stream irrigating the world (*cf.* 32), in which capacity, permanent Grace never leaving you, you will revert to infantine innocence (*cf.* 10). Know the whiter or more æthereal aspect, but maintain consideration for the darker or material, in your capacity of pattern (*cf.* 22) to the world, in which capacity, permanent Grace never failing you, you will revert to the infinite (*cf.* 14, 16). Know the favour or glory aspect, but maintain a due estimate of the disapproval or disgrace (*cf.* 13) in your

capacity of broad-mind to the world (*cf.* 15, 32), in which capacity, permanent Grace being sufficient, you will revert to rough-hewn simplicity (*cf.* 15, 32). When this simplicity has gone, the result is a manufactured article, which, as utilised by the highest form of man, takes the form of administrative officials (*cf.* 15). Hence the grand standard is not tampered with or mutilated.

29. When it comes to taking possession of empire and instituting active steps (*cf.* 3), it seems to me that here we have a case of nilly-willy (*cf.* 31). Empire is a spiritual engine, which does not admit of really orthodox administration, and those who try their hands at it are apt to come to grief; those who grasp at it only do so to see it slip away. Hence men must either lead or be led; be, so to speak, the inhalers or exhalers (*cf.* 36); either the powerful or the decrepit; the individual must support his burden or collapse (*cf.* 36). Thus it is that the highest form of man avoids extremes (*cf.* 9), avoids showiness, avoids luxury (*cf.* 24).

30. Those who support and counsel the rulers of mankind under the principles of Providence do not make use of military force to compel the world. Such a course is wont to bring retribution; for brambles spring out from the land which has been occupied by an army, and years of dearth are certain to follow in the wake of great battalions. Hence the beneficent man (*cf.* 8, 27) is satisfied with attaining his end, not venturing to proceed onwards therefrom in order to impose by force; attaining his end without self-assertion (*cf.* 2), attaining it without proclaiming success (*cf.* 24), without exhibiting arrogance; attaining his end because it is a case of nilly-willy (*cf.* 29); attaining it without overbearingness. For all creatures begin to age at maturity (*cf.* 14, 16, 28), and such action would mean "lack of Providence," lack of Providence indicating that an end is soon coming.

31. Now, glory in warfare is an inauspicious engine, and mankind are apt to show their hate of it (*cf.* 24); hence those who really possess the principles of Providence will have no truck with it (*cf.* 24). For this reason the accomplished man in his civilian capacity takes an Eastern life-giving

seat or attitude; whilst, when in charge of troops, he prefers the Western, or life-taking; warfare being an inauspicious engine, and not the engine of an accomplished man, who only makes uses of it in cases of nilly-willy (*cf.* 29, 30). He makes a colourless calmness (*cf.* 37) his chief aim, and hence has no good word for war: if he had, he would be delighting in it, and such a delight in it would be equivalent to delighting in human butchery. Now, a person who should take delight in human butchery could never make himself acceptable to the empire at large (*cf.* 35). The left, or east side is specially affected to auspicious matters, and the right, or west to the ill-starred. Thus it is that the general in charge of a special column takes the left position, whilst the commander-in-chief is 'always to the right; meaning that, as occupying the highest status, he must be particularly associated with the insignia of death and destruction. When the butchery of human beings is very heavy, we should bewail the fact with weeping and mourning; and thus, when the victor emerges from the fight, he should be associated with the insignia of death and destruction.

32. Providence is perpetual, and destitute of any name (*cf.* 1, 37). Though the rough-hewn man (*cf.* 28) may be obscure, not even the whole world is competent to subdue his spirit. If our rulers could but abide by principle, all creation (*cf.* 1, 25, 37) would flock to them. It is the union of heaven and earth (*cf.* 25) that brings down the sweet dews; and in the same way the people can adjust themselves without need for legal sanctions (*cf.* 37). Names were given when the first statutory sanctions appeared (*cf.* 19), and names thus coming into existence, it became possible to know where to stop, for through knowing where to stop we avoid a crisis (*cf.* 16, 25). The function of Providence in the world may be compared with the functions of streams and valleys in relation to the Great River and the Sea (*cf.* 28).

33. He who understands other men is sagacious, but he who understands himself is clear-sighted (*cf.* 36). He who can overcome other men is strong, but he who overcomes himself is mighty. He who knows content is rich (*cf.* 22).

It is he that persists who owns the potency of will. It is he that shows tact whose capacities endure (*cf.* 2, 10, 22). It is those who die without being forgotten who enjoy true old age.

34. The highest form of Providence is universal, and always at hand. The innumerable objects of creation (*cf.* 1, 25, 33) depend upon its unfailing action for their existence (*cf.* 2). It achieves results which yet cannot be named (*cf.* 37) as concrete being (*cf.* 1, 2), and cherishes the innumerable objects without disclosing the directing power (*cf.* 10). Hence it is ever without desire (*cf.* 37), nothing being too minute for it. The innumerable objects revert to it (*cf.* 14, 25) and yet are unconscious of its directing power, nothing being too great for it. Hence the highest form of man never magnifies himself, and is thus always great in achievement (*cf.* 8, 10, 15).

35. The empire will go out to him who holds fast to these symbols (*cf.* 10); will go out to him with a sense of security; all feeling easy in body and calm in mind, in enjoyment of hospitable music and feasting, only limited by the departure of welcome strangers (*cf.* 3). The savour of Providence as thus manifested is destitute of distinct taste; it is incapable of forming an image to the eye (*cf.* 14), and is equally imperceptible to the sense of hearing; but its effects are inexhaustible (*cf.* 6).

36. If there is to be attraction, then the centrifugal idea is connoted, just as the notion of weakening inevitably involves that of strength (*cf.* 29), the act of deposing that of setting up; just as the intention to take possession assumes that there is *possessio*. These may be termed the abstract indications (*cf.* 14, 15, 27) of clear sight (*cf.* 33). But the soft and weak may overcome the hard and strong (*cf.* 28); hence the fish should not try to leave his tank, and the effective weapons of state should not be paraded before the public in whose interests they are used.

37. Providence is perpetually without active purpose (*cf.* 2, 32), and yet leaves nothing undone. If our rulers could but abide by principle, all creation (*cf.* 32) would improve its own line of conduct. Should this improving development show tendency to restless activity, I would

propose to check it with that unnameable rough-hewnness (*cf.* 25, 28, 32, 34); and as this unnameable rough-hewnness will have no desires (*cf.* 34), from this absence of desire we reach calm (*cf.* 31); and thus the world will right itself.

ERRATA.

In the previous article, in the DUBLIN REVIEW of July last, on
Page 136, line 20, for "the discovery," read "*the discovery of*"
Page 136 „ 28 „ "Chwanz-tsz" „ "*Chwang-tsz*"
Page 149 „ 14 „ "Havier" „ "*Havret*"

Roman Decrees.

The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda.

ON March 1st, 1902, a decree was issued by this Sacred Congregation concerning the celebration of Mass at sea, which seemed entirely to prohibit Mass being said in *private cabins*. This decree was duly published in THE DUBLIN REVIEW. The following letter, signed by the Secretary of the Congregation, has now been issued, from which it would appear that it was not intended to forbid the use of private cabins for this purpose, when there is no danger of irreverence.

Explicatur decretum 1 Martii 1902 circa prohibitionem celebrandi missam in privatis cellis super navibus.

ROMA, 13 Agosto, 1902.

Ill.me ac Rev.me Domine,

Quod per Decretum S. hujus Congregationis diei 1 Martii vertentis anni (1), est cautum super celebratione missae in navibus, tantum respicit abusos illos qui orirentur, si in privatis cellulis viatorum, usibus vitae destinatis, indecenter offerretur augustissimum Sacrificium Missae. Non autem absolute celebratio in cellis prohibita est, quando adjuncta omnia removeant irreverentiae pericula. Quamobrem firmis manentibus Decreti praedicti praescriptionibus, velit Amplitudo Tua idem sincero sensu intelligere ac missionarios sine causa turbatos quietos facere.

Ego vero Deum rogo ut Te diu servet ac sospitet.

Amplitudinis Tuae addictissimus servus,

Pro EMIN. CARD. PRAEFECTO.

ALOISIUS VECIA, *Secret.*

R. P. D. JOANNI B. CAZET,

Vic. Apost. Madagasc. Centr.

E. Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum.

Secular priests belonging to the Third Order of St. Francis can receive the general Absolution or Plenary Indulgence, on any day within the Octave of the Feast, to which the Indulgence is attached.

Indultum pro sacerdotibus Tertii Ord. Saecularis S. Francisci.

Beatissime Pater,

Sacerdotes Tertii Ordinis Saecularis S. Francisci, ad osculum S. Pedis provoluti, humiliter implorant ut, qui ex ipsis, muneribus Sacerdotalibus impediti fuerint quominus adsignatis diebus Ecclesiam vel Oratorium adire valeant ad recipiendam Benedictionem Papalem vel Absolutiones Generales cum adnexa Indulgentia Plenaria praefato Tertio Ordini concessas, easdem recipere possint quocunque die inter festi octiduum occurrente, ne tanto bono spirituali inculpabiliter priventur.

Et Deus etc.

Vigore specialium facultatum a SS. D. N. Leo PP. XIII., sibi tributarum, S. Cong. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita benigne annuit pro gratia juxta preces, ceteris servatis de jure servandis.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Praesenti in perpetuum valituro.

Datum Romae ex Secretario ejusdem S. Cong. die 11 Februarii 1903.

A. CARD. TRIPEPI, *Praef.*

An Indulgence of 100 days for the recitation of the prayer "Our Lady of Lourdes, pray for us."

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Oblatis Nobis ab Antistite Tarbien, precibus benigne annuentes de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli App. ejus auctoritate confisi per praesentes omnibus et singuli fidelibus ex utroque sexu, qui quolibet anni die piam invocationem *Nostra Domina Lourdensis, ora pro nobis*, contrito saltem corde ac devote recitent, in forma Ecclesiae solita de numero dierum poenaliu centum expungimus, atque insuper iis largimur hac partiali indulgentia liceat, si malint functorum vita labes poenasque expiare.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Praesentibus perpetuis temporibus valituris. Volumus vero ut harum litterarum authenticum exemplar tradatur ad Congregationem Indulgentiis sacrisque reliquiis praepositam, utque praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicujus notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die xxv Junii MCMII Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo quinto.

PRO DNO CARD. MACCHI.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Subst.*

Praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar traditum fuit ad hanc S. Congregationem Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositam.

In quorum fidem. . .

Datum Romae ex Sec.ria ejusdem S. Cong.nis die 28 Junii 1902.

JOS. M. CAN. COSELLI, *Subst.*

The Sacred Congregation of Rites.

Certain doubts are solved. (Only two of the doubts solved are given here, as the others relate solely to the office as said in Mexico.)

Hodierni Caeremoniarum Magistri in Ecclesia Cathedrali de Queretaro in Mexicana Ditione, de consensu et approbatione Rmi sui Episcopi, quae subsequuntur dubia Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi pro opportuna solutione humillime exposuerunt ; nimirum :

I. In ecclesia Cathedrali de Queretaro, a tempore suae erectionis, qualibet Tertia Dominica mensis, Missa Conventualis canitur coram SS. Sacramento palam exposito, quod processionaliter per ecclesiam gestatur, dictis in Choro post Missam, Sexta et Nona. Nunc vero quaeritur : An licite continuari possit mos cantandi Missam praefatam coram SS. Sacramento ?

II. Ex praescripto Caeremonialis Episcoporum, Lib I. Cap 9, n. 6, et Lib II. Cap 29, n. 3, in Missis Pontificalibus " Confiteor " canendum est a Diacono, si facienda sit Communio

generalis aut particularis aliquorum. Nonnulli vero Rubricistae, putant cantum "Confiteor" debere pariter habere locum in qualibet Missa solemnī, licet non Pontificali, et quamvis sit de Requie, si S. Communio fidelibus in ipsa distribuatur. Quum autem hoc manifeste non constet ex ipso Caeremoniali, sed potius locus sit dubitandi, quaeritur: Utrum "Confiteor" cani debeat in omnibus Missis solemnibus, non Pontificalibus, et etiam de Requie, ante distributionem SSmae Eucharistiae?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem Subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, respondendum censuit:

Ad I. *Affirmative* de licentia tamen Ordinarii.

Ad II. *Quoad primam partem*: Dicendum *Confiteor* alta voce vel cantando, juxta consuetudinem; et *quoad alteram*, in Missis solemnibus sive cantatis de Requie, juxta praxim Urbis, Communio distribui non solet, sed ubi ex rationabili causa distribuenda foret, Diaconus dicet *Confiteor* tantum alta voce.

Atque ita rescipsit. Die 28 Novembris 1902.

L ✠ S

D. CARD. FERRATA, S.R.C., *Pro Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

THE HOLY FATHER APPOINTS AN HISTORICO-LITURGICAL COMMISSION.

Decretum.

Sacra Rituum Congregatio, probante Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone PP. XIII., peculiarem Commissionem historico-liturgicam constituit quam constare voluit ex quinque eximiis sacerdotibus RR. DD. Aloysio Duchesne, Josepho Wilpert, Francisco Eherle, Josepho Roberti, Humberto Benigni et Joanne Mercati. Atque insuper, annuente eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, Sacra eadem Congregatio sibi facultatem reservavit seligendi in posterum nonnullos socios consulentes qui ad opus apti videantur.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 28 Novembris 1902.

L ✠ S

D. CARD. FERRATA, *Pro Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

The following decree has been issued on the subject of mixed choirs at sung Masses.

Circa choros mixtos in missis cantatis.

Quo divini cultus decori prospiciatur et sacrae functiones recte ac rite peragantur in Diocesi Plocensi, hodiernus R. mus Episcopus ejusdem Diocesis, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi, ea quae sequuntur, pro opportuna declaratione, humiliter exposuit, nimirum : In Diocesi Plocensi, sicut in aliis Poloniae Diocesibus extat mos ut in missis solemnibus, praesertim diebus per annum solemnioribus, canant *Gloria, Graduale, Credo*, et in choro super majorem Ecclesiae portam, ubi organum est, constituto, mulieres ac puellae, sive solae ipsae cum organista, sive juvenibus et viris conjunctae, in quibus cantorum choris mixtis vocem *soprano* exequentur puellae. Quum hujusmodi morem quaedam Ephemerides polonicae defendant contra plures Archaeologiae et Liturgiae cultores qui illum improbant, quaeritur :

(i.) An mos supradescriptus licitus sit et conformis legi et sensui Ecclesiae ?

(ii.) Et quatenus negative ad I. an saltem tolerari possit ?

Et sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, reque mature pensata, respondendum censuit :

Negative ad utrumque, et Decretum n. 3964 *De Truxillo* 17 Sept 1897 etiam ad hunc casum extendi declaravit.

Atque ita rescipsit die 19 Februarii 1903.

L ❖ S

S. CARD. CRETONI, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

Instrumental accompaniment is prohibited during the singing of the Lamentations, etc., in Holy Week :

Nequit Tolerari consuetudo pulsandi Harmonium, aliave instrumenta in cantu Lamentationum etc, in Feria iv, v, et vi Hebd. Maj.

Quum ex Caeremoniali Episcoporum et ex plurimis Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Decretis, non obstante consuetudine permitti nequeat ut Feriis iv, v, et vi Majoris Hebdomadae cantentur simul cum sono organi et aliorum instrumentorum Lamentationes, Responsoria, et Psalmus *Miserere* ac reliquae liturgicae partes, R. mus D. mus Guidus Salvioni Canonicus decanus et vicarius de choro Ecclesiae Primatialis Pisanae, haec

probe noscens, ab eadem Sacra Congregatione sequentium dubiorum humiliter efflagitavit, nimirum :

(i.) An in Ecclesia Primatiali Pisana, Feriis supradictis, attenta antiqua consuetudine tolerari possit ut cantus Lamentationum, Responseriorum, et Psalmi *Miserere* fiat simul cum instrumento *Harmonium* et aliis instrumentis sine strepitu, *a corda, violini, viole, contrabassi* nuncupatis?

(ii.) Et quatenus negative ad I, an saltem tolerari possit in casu, sonus tantum instrumenti *Harmonium*?

Et sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito R.mo D.no Archiepiscopo Pisano, et exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum censuit :

Negative ad utrumque, juxta Caerimoniale Episcoporum Lib I, Cap xxvii, et Decreta 2959 *Taurinen.* 11 Sept 1847, ad I, 3804 *Soana*, 16 Junii 1893 ad II, et 4044 *Bonaeren*, 7 Julii 1899 ad I.

Atque ita rescripsit et servare mandavit. Die 20 Martii 1903.

L. ✠ S

D. CARD. FERRATA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secret.*

Science Notices.

The Emanations of Radium. — The extraordinary emanations of Radium are continuing to attract the attention of the scientific world; and though many theories have already been advanced concerning them, we are, without doubt, still on the threshold of our knowledge of the properties of this new element, characterised specially by being the heaviest of all known elements, and by being so intensely radio-active that all bodies within its neighbourhood become endowed with the radio-active properties.

Speaking of Radium and other radio-active substances before the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia, Mr. William J. Hammer said: "More attention in the scientific world has been attracted to the phenomena of these radio-active substances than was attracted by the discovery of Roentgen Rays, or X Rays; and it is doubtful if anything has been discovered since the beginning of the world which has possessed such fascinating interest to scientific men, and which is so fraught with possibilities; and it seems likely to contribute to our knowledge of the constitution of matter to a degree which no other substance heretofore discovered has ever done."

As is well known, tubes containing Radium are phosphorescent in the dark without needing any external exciting cause, such as the light of burning magnesium. Preparations of Radium have been made in a dark room and kept there for as long as two years, and throughout the time have not lost their luminosity in the slightest degree. Mr. Hammer describes this substance as matter tearing itself into pieces and projecting these pieces with from half to the full speed of light, the particles being evidently carried through all matter.

Regarding the radio-active infection which is spread from exposure to Radium, Professor Curie, who with Madame Curie and M. Belmont discovered the element, states that after being exposed to Radium his clothes became so radio-active as to prevent him going near his instruments. If a little cotton wool is wrapped round a Radium tube and held in the dark, the whole mass becomes brilliantly phosphorescent. In a letter to *Nature*, July 9th, Mr. Harrison Glew gives an interesting description of the fluorescence of the human eye under the action of Radium: "If a tube containing Radium bromide is wrapped in black paper, and brought within three or four inches of the eye in a dark room, a curious sensation of general illumination of the eye is experienced; this occurs whether the eyelid is closed or not. It is difficult accurately to describe the sensation produced—the eye seems filled with light. This effect can readily be detected when six florins are placed between the closed eye and the sample of Radium." The writer adds that it is important to well prepare the eye by excluding every trace of light from the room for at least a quarter of an hour before the experiments are made.

Radium has three distinct classes of rays. 1. The α rays, which appear to constitute by far the most important class of these and the largest quantity, being those which produce the great portion of the ionization of the air observed under experimental conditions. These rays have in common certain of the characteristics of X Rays, and by many have been thought to be X Rays. Professor Rutherford has shown that these rays in a powerful magnetic field are slightly deflectable. Originally it was thought that they were absolutely undeviable. These rays are easily absorbed by matter, and carry a positive electric charge. 2. The β rays, which are much longer and much more penetrative in every respect, possessing the qualities of Cetrode Rays. They are readily deflected by a magnet, discharging electrified bodies by ionizations of the air, and affect photographic plates. They carry a negative charge of electricity. 3. The γ rays, which are much more intensely penetrative than the α and β . It has been hitherto thought that these γ rays are not corpuscular like the α and β rays, but etherial. Mr. R. Strutt, however, in a paper communicated to the Royal Society, differs from this view, and thinks that the γ rays may also be of a corpuscular nature, though they are differentiated from the α and β rays by being uncharged with electricity.

The fact that none of the rays from Radium have been refracted or polarised would seem to be in favour of this view.

Mr. Hammer, in his address, mentioned that Professor Curie showed him a tiny tube containing between $\frac{2}{100}$ and $\frac{3}{100}$ of a grain of Radium.

This, he stated, represented the only samples of chemically pure radium in the world. This was the sample with which M. Demarcay had made his investigations with the spectroscope, and showed that there were only present the lines characteristic of Radium. This was the chemical sample with which the atomic weight had been determined to be 225.

Professor J. J. Thompson has stated that if a square centimetre of surface were covered with pure Radium, it would only lose in weight '000 milligrams of the substance in a million years.

The Radium emanations produce many curious chemical effects. At the meeting of the Franklin Institute, Mr. Hammer showed a glass bottle which had contained Radium, and which had been coloured deep violet through the influence of its contents ; also a tiny tube in which the chemical constituents of the glass were such that when the Radium acted upon them, the glass was changed to a dark brown.

The physiological effects produced by Radium are most powerful. Professor Curie had the back of his hand badly burned, and the skin peeled off, due to a small sample of very high radio-activity, which he had placed on the back of his hand for about five minutes. The professor was lately asked whether a kilo of Radium had ever been produced, and in reply stated that in the last three years, with all the work that had been done in Germany and France, only between 500 and 600 grammes of Radium had been produced. He added that he would not care to trust himself in a room with a kilo of Radium, because it would destroy his eye sight, burn all the skin off his body, and probably cause his death.

Though Radium can undoubtedly be potent in doing harm, it is expected that in medical hands it may be destined to be a power for good as a curative agent. It is, however, premature to speak very definitely on this subject.

Amongst Professor Curie's most recent discoveries concerning Radium is that *due* to its remarkable property of continuously emitting heat without combustion, without chemical action of any kind, and without any change in its molecular structure.

He finds that Radium maintains its own temperature at a point 1.5 degrees C. above the surrounding atmosphere. The quantity of heat evolved is such that a pure Radium salt will melt more than its own weight of ice in one hour; and half a pound of a salt of radium will evolve in one hour heat equal to that generated by burning one-third of a cubic foot of hydrogen gas. Though so constantly active, the salt appears to retain constant potency.

With regard to Professor Curie's discovery, Mr. W. E. Wilson, in a letter to *Nature*, suggests that the property Radium possesses of continuously radiating heat without itself cooling down to the temperature of surrounding objects, may possibly afford a clue to the source of energy of the sun and stars. He takes Professor Curie's observation that one grain of Radium can supply one hundred calories per hour, and he finds that 3.6 grains of Radium per cubic metre of the sun's volume would supply the sun's entire output of energy, which, according to Professor Langley's observations, is equal to 828,000 calories per hour.

Sir William Crookes and Professor Dewar have recently conducted experiments to ascertain whether extreme cold has any effect upon the emanations of Radium, and have found that after exposure to extreme cold they are unaltered.

The first attempt was to ascertain whether the scintillations produced by Radium on a sensitive blende screen were altered by cold. A small screen of blende, with a morsel of Radium salt close in front of it, was sealed in a glass tube, and a lens was adjusted in front so that the scintillations could be seen. When the whole was dipped into liquid air, the scintillations became fainter and fainter. Less thorough experimenters might have been tempted to regard such a result indicative of the destruction of the radio-active properties by very low temperatures, but in the minds of the experimenters doubt was felt whether this diminution of activity was caused by the presence of liquid, or by a diminution of the sensitiveness of the screen, or by the Radium ceasing to omit the heavy positive ions. To thoroughly test the cause, two tubes were made, in one of which the Radium salts could be cooled without the screen, and in the other the screen could be cooled while the Radium salt was at the ordinary temperature. In the case of the experiment with Radium salt cooled by liquid air, the screen being at ordinary temperature, the scintillations were quite

as vigorous as with Radium at the ordinary temperature, the screen and Radium being in vacuo. In the case of the experiment with Radium at the ordinary temperature and screen cooled in liquid air, as the cooling of the screen proceeded, the scintillations became fainter and fainter, until at last they could not be seen. When the temperature was allowed to rise, the scintillations re-commenced. In another experiment, a screen with a speck of Radium salt in front of it was sealed in a glass tube. The tube was sealed up while a few drops of water were remaining in the tube. The scintillations were distinctly seen in the saturated aqueous vapour. When the liquid hydrogen was used for cooling instead of liquid air, the action was equally marked, proving that the highest vacuum obtainable by the action of cold does not diminish the scintillations. An experiment was also made to test the activity of Radium in rendering air electrically conductive when subjected to extreme cold. Some Radium bromide was sealed up in a glass tube and heated to the highest temperature the glass would stand, during the production of as high a vacuum as the mercurial pump would produce. The whole tube was then immersed in liquid hydrogen contained in a vacuum vessel. In bringing the Radium thus immersed into a room in which a charged electroscope was placed, it began to leak when the tube of Radium surrounded with liquid hydrogen was some three feet away, and was very rapid in its action when only a foot away from the electrometer. The tube containing the liquid hydrogen with submerged Radium was then immersed in another large vessel of liquid air, and the combination brought near the electroscope, when the action was the same.

Sir William Ramsey and Mr. Frederick Soddy have recently carried out researches, which show the occurrence of helium in the gases evolved from Radium bromide. The gas evolved from twenty milligrams of pure Radium bromide consists mainly of hydrogen and oxygen. To test it for helium, the hydrogen and oxygen were removed by contact with a red-hot spiral of copper wire partly oxidised, and the aqueous vapour by a tube of phosphorous pentoxide. The gas issued into a small vacuum tube, which showed the spectrum of carbon dioxide. The vacuum tube was connected with a small U tube, and this was cooled with liquid air. The brilliancy of the carbon dioxide spectrum was then much diminished, and the D^2 line of helium made its appearance.

Confirmation of the coincidence was obtained by throwing the spectrum of helium into the spectroscope through the comparison prism, and it was shown to be at least within 0.5 of an angström unit. The experiment was carefully repeated in apparatus constructed of ground glass with thirty millograms of Radium bromide. The gases evolved were passed through a cooled U tube on their way to the vacuum tube, which completely prevented the passage of carbon dioxide and the emanation. The full spectrum of helium was obtained.

Thermit.—This remarkable substance, used for suddenly producing very high temperatures, consists of oxide of iron mixed with powdered metallic aluminium. When a red-hot iron is thrown into this mixture no action occurs. If, however, a little barium preparation or magnesium powder is sprinkled on the top of this mixture and a match applied, a violent re-action occurs, producing a temperature of 5,400 degrees F. If 2.2 pounds of this substance is thus ignited, the re-action which takes place represents a mechanical equivalent of 1,730 horsepower seconds, or about 1,274 kilowatt seconds.

Notes of Travel and Exploration.

The Veiled Nomads of the Sahara.—Mr. Harding King's journey in search of a Touareg or Tawarek camp in the Sahara had all the fascination of a mysterious quest, and he has recorded it in an interesting volume. (*A Search for the Masked Tawareks*. By W. J. Harding King. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1903.) The spelling of the name here adopted he considers to be the more correct rendering of its sound, but it is a solecism to add the letter "s" as a sign of the plural, since Tawarek is already a plural form, of which, if we mistake not, Targui is the singular. The camp visited by him was not far from the oasis of Tougourt to the south of Biskra. The peculiarity of these pirates of the desert is the close concealment of their faces by a litham or veil, which they never remove, even passing their food under it when eating. In the case of the nobles it is black, as is the rest of their clothing, while the slaves are distinguished by a white mask or face-cloth. The country ruled or raided by them covers an area of about a million and a half of square miles, containing less than 3,000 acres of cultivated land. From Timbuktu to the Algerian frontier, and from Morocco to the hinterland of Tripoli, the five confederated tribes into which the nation is divided graze their flocks and camels on the sparse vegetation, blackmail the people of the oasis, and monopolise the supply of transport to caravans.

A Berber race, akin to the Kabyles, Riffs, and other highlanders of Barbary, they are divided into four castes: nobles, who are exclusively hunters and warriors; serfs, who have the charge of their masters' flocks and herds, but are practically independent and often wealthy; an intermediate class, the

offspring of intermarriages between these two castes; and Soudanese slaves, who are invariably well treated and generally attached to their owners. Property is transmitted and descent reckoned solely in the maternal line, and the women enjoy perfect independence both before and after marriage, retaining control of their property and having the advantage of the men in point of education. Although nominal Mohammedans, the Tawarek do not practise polygamy, and the mother is regarded as the head of the family. Their religion is corrupted with spirit worship, but a certain number of marabouts live amongst them often in the capacity of tutors to the families of the nobles. A considerable proportion of them have joined the Senussite sect, and are thereby rendered, if possible, more hostile to strangers than they were before.

Travels in the Basin of the Upper Nile.—Captain Sykes, R.H.A., gives an entertaining account of a series of minor expeditions in the northern regions of the Uganda Protectorate in a recently published volume. (*Service and Sport on the Tropical Nile*. London: John Murray. 1903.) The mutiny of the Soudanese troops in Uganda necessitated the consolidation of British rule in the outlying districts of the Nilotic province, and this work, carried out by road-cutting and fort-building rather than by fighting, was that which occupied him from 1897 to 1899. The capital of Uganda had already taken the impress of a British settlement: a football match was being played by Baganda and Englishmen, the arrival of the reinforcements was celebrated by a dinner, and the Commissioner held a levée at which bishops, soldiers, and civil servants appeared in the paraphernalia of their respective offices. At Mengo, too, English flowers and vegetables flourished beside the fruits of the tropics; brinjalls, Cape gooseberries, guavas and papaws all prospered, and even the mango had been introduced by the missionaries. But these luxuries were left behind on the march to the north, for the war with Kabarega had left Unyoro a waste, and for several marches the caravan of a thousand souls was dependent for food on the rifles of the two officers. The Murchison Falls, in which the Victoria Nile precipitates itself into a narrow chasm before entering the Albert Nyanza, form the most striking feature of this region, and present the most

majestic spectacle the author had ever beheld, except, perhaps, Mount Kilima Njaro. The ultimate object of the expedition was to open up communications between Egypt and Uganda by way of the Nile, but this was found to be impracticable owing to the accumulation of sudd, or floating vegetation, which at that time completely blocked the great stream between Lando and the north. All attempts to penetrate it proved abortive, as the lanes of open water apparently leading through it invariably turned out to be *culs-de-sac*. The soil formed by the obstruction, though soft and swampy to the tread, was firm enough in dry seasons to furnish crops for the natives and even sites for their dwellings. The water soaking through provided abundant irrigation, enabling several harvests in the year to be gathered from the fertile swamp. Thus plenty reigned on the Nile surface while the surrounding country was starved with drought.

Exploration of the Chaco.—Portions of South America are probably now the least known regions of the globe, and the Paraguayan Chaco has never been systematically explored. A recent attempt to penetrate its wilds resulted unfortunately in the murder, by Indians of the Chamacoco tribe, of an enterprising young Italian traveller, Signor Boggiani. His object was to find a road to Bolivia which is believed to exist, and for this purpose he started last year with a small party of peons. Fears for his safety began to be felt when, after a long absence, no news of him reached the outer world, and a Spanish gentleman, Señor Cancio, much experienced in Indian travel, led a small privately equipped expedition to his relief. After the endurance of much suffering from want of water, and losing all their mules and horses from this cause, they obtained evidence of Signor Boggiani's death, and brought back his remains to Asuncion, as well as one of the Indians who was supposed to have taken part in his murder. All the records of his expedition were destroyed by the Indians, and its results are thus lost to science. In the same region a difficult feat of river navigation was performed by two Englishmen in a small stern-wheel steamer with a native crew. They forced their way up the Rio Salado, the outlet of a large sheet of fresh water some fifteen miles long by four or five miles wide, lying fifteen miles west of Asuncion. Its shores are much frequented as a bathing resort,

and are the site of a flourishing German colony. All attempts to reach the lake by navigating the Salado from its confluence with the Paraguay had hitherto failed, and the English expedition succeeded only at the cost of fifteen weeks of incessant toil. The difficulties may be estimated by the recital of the work done, which included the construction of twenty-six dams, the cutting of a canal, and in one place of actually carrying the steamer overland through a portion of the outskirts of the forest. The choking of the river by aquatic vegetation rendered the use of steam impossible, and the crew had to take to the water and push the vessel along. As the water and mud were the abode of crocodiles, boas, and poisonous reptiles of various descriptions, the task was no less perilous than laborious. The country through which the Salado flows is very sparsely inhabited, and little is known of its fauna or flora.

Collapse of the Blue Nile Expedition.—Much regret is felt at the failure of Mr. Macmillan's spirited attempt to investigate the possibilities of navigation on the Blue Nile. The party, consisting of eight Europeans and twelve Somalis, left Adis Abeba, the capital of the Emperor Menelik, on June 11th, for a point on the river one hundred and twenty miles distant in a north-westerly direction. Thence it was intended to follow the stream if possible to its junction with the White Nile at Khartoum, and for this purpose four steel punts, made in portable sections, were taken up from the coast. These boats proved thoroughly unsuitable for the work, for even after the initial difficulty of rendering them water-tight when put together had been overcome, they were found to be unsatisfactory in their behaviour when fully laden and launched. A start was made on June 26th, the river being low for the time of year, and at first flowing with a sluggish current. But the boats had travelled little more than four hours down stream when a series of rapids, numbering eight in a stretch of four miles, gave them very rough treatment, and two of the punts were wrecked, and a third nearly so, where the entrance of the river into a narrow winding gorge between steep rocks aggravated the rapidity of its descent. The first boat got safely through the rapid, but the two following ones struck a large rock in mid stream and sank in deep water. The fourth would have shared their fate, but Mr. Macmillan and one of

the crew took advantage of finding themselves in shallow water to jump overboard and bring her safely ashore. There was fortunately no loss of life, but half the provisions and stores were lost, and there was no alternative but to return with all possible despatch. This was rendered practicable by the fact that the disaster had occurred so early in the voyage as to admit of the recall of the mule caravan within twenty-four hours. Had it been out of reach, the experiences of the party might have been still more disagreeable. As it was, they reached Adis Abeba on July 6th, after travelling by forced marches in very unpleasant weather. Several of the European members of the expedition decided to return home without delay, as there is no possibility of any further attempt to navigate the Blue Nile during the present year.

King Edward's Land.—So little had until now been known of the hinterland of the celebrated Mahogany Coast of Belize, that by recent exploration of that region a territory of 1,200 square miles has been added to the British colony of Honduras. The dense humid jungle which clothes the spurs of the Cockscombs has hitherto proved an almost insuperable obstacle to the opening up of a region now declared to be full of the richest promise both for tropical agriculture and for mineral wealth. The narrow littoral zone, like all tropical littorals, is feverish and unhealthy, but the climate of the new country is delightful, especially on the westerly slopes of the mountains where the exhilarating current of the trade winds is felt. The mountains, presenting a precipitous front to the east, were evidently washed originally by the waters of the Caribbean Sea, and formed a bold and deeply indented coast line. They were believed to consist of three principal chains running from east to west, but the recent expedition has added a fourth range, on whose culminating summit, 4,000 ft. high, the name of Mount Joseph Chamberlain has been conferred. The Cockscombs are in part, at least, of limestone formation, and are believed to contain much mineral wealth including gold. But the whole, mountain zone appears to be of amazing fertility, and especially adapted for the cultivation of coffee and cocoa. Hitherto it is only the littoral plain, constituting the more accessible portion of the colony, which has been exploited by the settlers, and the forests

of the interior have still to be tapped. With this view a Government survey is now in progress in order to investigate the possibility of a railway to bring the potential wealth of the highlands to the coast. The denizens of the primeval forest at present comprise the jaguar, formidable to cattle, and snakes, some six feet in length, familiarly known as "Tommy Goffs," whose poisonous bite is much dreaded by the Indians. Previous explorations of the Cockscombs, beginning with an official expedition in 1888, had discovered and named various peaks ranging from 3,000 to 3,200 ft. high. The middle range is now called Queen Alexandra's Mountains, and the smaller Prince of Wales's Range, while the name of King Edward's Land has been conferred on the whole mountain area.

Notices of Books.

Reverend Mother M. Xavier Warde. By the SISTERS OF MERCY, Mount St. Mary's, Manchester, New Hampshire. Boston : Marlier and Co.

THIS biography forms an interesting chapter in that wonderful story, the growth of the Catholic Church in the United States. In religion, as in politics, a new world "has there been called into existence," if not "to redress the balance of the old," at least to compensate for its partial lapse from faith. The Order of Mercy shared in the fruitfulness which attends all Catholic institutions transplanted to a land where they find a freedom and toleration too often denied them in many older countries. Mother Warde, its Foundress in America, lived to see her little community the parent house of numerous branches. They are now established in 58 dioceses of the United States, and their inmates are numbered by thousands. It was in 1843 that the little band of Sisters of Mercy, seven in number, crossed the Atlantic at the invitation of Dr. O'Connor, first Bishop of Pittsburg. Some of Mother Warde's experiences in religious pioneering serve to remind the reader of the rapid development that has taken place during the intervening sixty years. Her adventures included a winter journey from Chicago, then little more than an expanse of prairie dotted over with log-huts, when mule and ox-wagon was the only mode of conveyance, and the road was such that being swamped in sloughs was a frequent incident of travel. Moral progress, again, can be measured by the fact that the first foundation in New England was actually surrounded and threatened with attack by a mob several thousand strong during the "know-nothing" movement in 1855. Only the sturdy front presented by the Catholic men, mostly Irish, who organised themselves into a guard and occupied the approaches to the convent, deterred the rioters from accomplishing their avowed purpose of its destruction.

Mother Warde, who had joined the Order from its first foundation, survived all her companions of those early years; and when she celebrated in 1883 her Golden Jubilee as a religious,

was the oldest Sister of Mercy in the world. It was the occasion of many tributes to her from all quarters of the globe, and 400 religious houses joined in the congratulations she received. She did not long survive the event, but after lingering some months in a failing state, died in September of the following year, leaving behind her a great monument in the work of which she had been the chief instrument.

One of her many admirable traits was a deep reverence for the priesthood, and Bishop Bradley, of Manchester, New Hampshire, testifies to this in the preface with which he introduces the work :

"In this connection I may be permitted a word personal. She it was who prepared me for the reception of the Sacrament of Confirmation. She had charge of the class of instruction in Christian doctrine which I attended in my younger days. During my time at the college and seminary she was always the earnest, active, and helpful friend. In time, in God's providence, matters were so determined that I became her ecclesiastical superior, and then, because of our relations, did I notice in a striking manner that which must arrest the attention of the reader of her life—her esteem for the ecclesiastical state, and her reverence and respect for authority."

The interest of the volume is enhanced by the portraits and other illustrations enabling us to realise the scenes and characters that figure in its pages.

Les Infiltrations Kantiennes et Protestantes et le Clergé Français. Etudes Complémentaires, par l'Abbé FONTAINE. Paris : Retaux. Pp. xxxv.-483.

STUDENTS of the deeper questions of apologetics will welcome this able criticism by l'Abbé Fontaine. The book, as might be anticipated from its subject-matter, is no light reading. Its author has set himself the distasteful task of criticising a not inconsiderable group of thinkers, who are all of them more or less deeply imbued with the primary principles and characteristics of the Kantian philosophy. Many of his opponents are among the ranks of the clergy, whose writings during the past six or seven years have become generally known in France and elsewhere by their articles in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne* and the *Revue du Clergé Français*, as also in independent publications. The peculiar quality of the new school is its frank adoption of the system of Kant, and a daring criticism of what it styles the old or orthodox method of

apologetics. The views advanced by the new school include the assertion that truth is obtained from within the mind, not from the objects outside us; that we have no means of acquiring any certain knowledge of the grand truths of existence by any contemplation of things outside our own minds; but that the whole and only reliable system of truth is evolved from our inner consciousness. We make truth rather than receive it. The propounders of this Catholicised Kantism, if such a connection of ideas be thinkable, do not scruple to set aside all proof of God's existence or attributes from the contemplation of nature; and they derive the knowledge and obligation of the moral law merely from an impressive sense of duty within the mind.

Their criticism has been applied chiefly to three contiguous areas of Catholic science, apologetics properly so called, the interpretation of certain passages of Scripture, and the history of doctrines.

In the subject of apologetics they are concerned almost exclusively with two points, in which they join issue with what they term the old method. The old or traditional method employed in our schools of philosophy or theology is mainly an investigation of facts lying outside the mind, and the study or verification of a series of historical events. The supreme object of this inquiry is to set forth clearly and irresistibly the central fact of the existence, personality, and mission of Jesus Christ, the founder of the Christian religion. In this transcendent reality, in the previous history that led up to it, and in the action of a teaching institution which has issued from it, the old method discovers one grand and continuous supernatural revelation. For the new school that method is antiquated and unsatisfactory. The new method is under the impression that it has discovered the supernatural to be rigorously demanded by our very constitution. Our needs and aspirations, they contend, impel us to higher hopes and aims than are to be found within the range of ordinary human exertions. The supernatural thus becomes the necessary and natural response to the pressing requirement or true and complete human life; and it is not easy to see how, under these conditions, the supernatural is in reality anything more than the natural complement of ordinary healthy human development.

Having advanced thus far, it is an easy stage to proceed to explain away the transcendence of the miraculous. Miracles are no longer miraculous in the commonly accepted meaning of the

word. They are all within the competence of natural agencies. They are all provided for in the general scheme of the powers of nature.

"Il n'y a sans doute, si l'on va au fond des choses, *rien de plus dans le miracle* que dans le moindre des faits ordinaires. Mais aussi il n'y a rien de moins dans le *plus ordinaire* des faits que dans le miracle" (M. Blondel, cit. p. 160).

In place, therefore, of the received course of treatment of the foundations of the Christian religion, we are recommended to adopt the new method of "Immanence," which is much spoken of but rarely explained with any clearness and precision. We give an explanation in the words of M. l'Abbé Ch. Denis :

"Faisons appel à une philosophie qui concilie les exigences de l'objectivité et de la subjectivité. La méthode de l'action, improprement appelée par ses antagonistes méthode d'immanence, établit une connexion philosophique entre l'objet de la croyance et le sujet croyant. . . Il ne peut entrer en nous comme certitude et comme vérité en soi que ce qui devient en quelque façon nous-mêmes. Nos plus exactes découvertes ne sont en définitive que nous-mêmes plus profondément vécus et mieux connus par la réflexion. Et ainsi nous sommes sous l'empire d'une autonomie légitime et stricte. . .

"Mais certains modernes rationalistes en ont tiré une objection fondamentale contre le surnaturel. . ." (*Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*. Oct., 1901, p. 77).

The other chief subject of contention is the proof of the deeper truths which underlie the concept of religion itself in any form, namely, the existence and attributes of a personal God.

Such then are the subjects which will occupy the reader of this opportune volume. If he desires something new in substance, either as to error or its analysis, he will be disappointed, except perhaps in the case of some novel renderings of the first verse of Genesis. The interest of the book lies in the fact that it deals with an existing train of thought, and with a rehabilitation of old and often refuted views. But no one who is interested in the intellectual movements of the hour can afford to neglect this unfortunate division in the French schools.

M. l'Abbé Fontaine has selected a typical opponent for each count of his indictment. M. l'Abbé Jules Martin is the typical Kantian, the Oratorian Père Laberthonnière represents the new views concerning our knowledge of God's existence, M. Blondel is taken to task for explaining away the notion of the miraculous,

M. l'Abbé Bigot is the type of the advanced Scripturist, and M. Lechartier is severely criticised for his attempted combination of positivism and Catholic doctrines. Father Hogan in his *Clerical Studies* provides a text for the chapter on ecclesiastical studies. *A propos* of Father Hogan, many will feel the truth of the abbé's remark :

"Bref, M. Hogan nous signale très au long ce qu'il faut détruire ; il ne nous dit point assez comment édifier" (p. 295).

"La plupart des réformes appelées par M. Hogan, ne sont pas pour nous effrayer ; tout au contraire ; mais elles ne réussiront que si elles s'accomplissent dans un esprit éminemment catholique, à la lumière des principes très fermes, très arrêtés" (p. 296).

"Ce livre, on le voit, soulève plus de questions qu'il ne résout" (p. 355).

We are in complete sympathy with the main contentions of the author. Still we could have wished that an occasional asperity had been omitted, and the whole treatment would have benefited by compression ; while here and there passages that are beside the main issues might have been dropped with advantage.

The reader will, however, be careful to remember that the neo-Kantians in Catholic schools are not all of the same way of thinking. It is a long way from M. l'Abbé Jules Martin to M. l'Abbé Marcel Hébert, and MM. Secrétan and Sabatier, both Protestants. Nor must it be supposed that the school as a body denies the objective value of the proofs of the existence of God and the fact of revelation. Many admit them in their full intrinsic force, but are of opinion that they are ineffectual against the schools of thought with which they, as apologists, are called upon to deal. This is formally admitted by M. l'Abbé Fontaine, and M. l'Abbé Ch. Denis states it incisively in his *Table des Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*.

"La néo-apologétique a gardé tout le fond métaphysique du thomisme : Dieu personnel et tous ses attributs, base de l'ancienne démonstration ; l'âme spirituelle et libre ; le dualisme de la raison spontanée et de la foi donnée ; l'objectivité des faits historiques servant, dans l'Ecriture, à la fois de point de départ et de point de coïncidence à toute démonstration.

"Mais la néo-apologétique a paru, à beaucoup, sacrifier la méthode traditionnelle. C'est une inexactitude encore, mais expliquons-nous" (p. 561).

Nor are we to imagine that the neo-apologists form a coherent

body. They agree to differ. The real value of the study of M. l'Abbé Fontaine is that it points out a tendency of thought; and it shows that this tendency is in opposition with the spirit, at least, of the pronouncements of ecclesiastical teaching.

H. P.

Ye are Christ's? (1 Cor. iii. 23). Eighty-four Considerations for Boys. By JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J. London: Burns and Oates. Pp. 170. 1903.

A RELIGIOUS book has now been written for boys in the upper form of our schools. They have at last got a book about a good life for their own exclusive reading. As the author says in his prefatory note: "These Considerations were written for boys, not for *rigidi Catones* of severe mien and dreadful aspect." They are not likely to suit women or girls; men will admire them, and find here and there much that will help them; but the practical usefulness and real merit of the booklet is that it will suit big boys, and in particular those who are receiving or who have just completed a college education.

The book sets out spirituality in a specialized form. The aim, spirit, and practices of a Christian life are explained in the language and manner of an educated and thoughtful boy; and if we understand boys at all, we venture to predict that Father Rickaby's handy little volume will win them. The style of the book is vigorous and virile. Sympathy and encouragement run through every page; but the writer does not mince matters nor veil real difficulties, nor minimize the uncompromising character of the Gospel precepts and spirit, but speaks with an unmistakable plainness which boys will appreciate.

Where there is so much charm and variety, a difficulty is experienced in selecting a passage or two for illustration. But here is one on Character:—

"A boy without character is quite an intelligible person. He is a boy in whom nothing goes deep, neither good nor evil. If he is still quite a young boy, that is no bad sign. But for a boy well on in his teens, to show no evidence of character, may well alarm those responsible for his education. There is something wrong about the living clay of a great lump of a boy without character, wrong either in him or in the manner of his bringing up" (p. 77).

The next specimen, though rather long, is a good sample in various ways :—

“One hears sometimes of a yacht having ‘an ugly list to starboard.’ Such an original defect or construction may be remedied, partly by some readjustment, partly by the managers of the craft remembering and allowing for the peculiarity. But the defect is always there, a thing never to forget in a gale. Remember it, and the yacht may be sailed safely and pleasantly enough. I must remember that by the constitution of my nature, God so permitting, I have ‘an ugly list’ to sensuality. The defect may be three-quarters cured, or, perhaps, five-sixths cured, but not quite cured in this life. So I will remember” (p. 92).

One other characteristic and our notice must end :—

“That steady resolution is called *virtue*. A very experienced priest used to say that whoever has lived for two years at a time without mortal sin, after he has grown up, ought to make sure of saving his soul. He is like a man who on the railway has found his way into a through carriage” (p. 119).

Would that someone would write a book equally good for our girls.

H. P.

Cantus Mariales quos e fontibus antiquis eruit aut opere novo veterum instar concinnavit D. JOSEPHUS POTHIER, Abbas sancti Wandregilsii, O.S.B. Parisiis: Poussielgue. 1903. Pp. vii.-147-v.

OUR repertoire of Church music is the richer for this interesting collection of pieces. If few of them are strictly liturgical, all may be found useful, according to differences of taste or opportunity, for devotional and extra-liturgical services. Communities, colleges, and certain missions will find them very suitable.

The collection comprises fifty numbers—Canticles, Hymns, Sequences, Motetts, to which is added an Appendix, containing, amongst other things, an appropriate setting of the fifteen mysteries of the Rosary in Gregorian chant.

The Solesmes notation is employed throughout. Many of the items are syllabic, others neumed, a few being rather elaborate and difficult. There is almost endless variety in the devout salutations of the Blessed Virgin, and a remarkable fertility and

originality of musical melody. Text and melody are usually quaint, especially, for instance, as in N. xxviii. verse 5. It would be interesting to hear the passage sung by a good body of trained voices.

Eight pieces are from the Mone edition of texts, six from the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, four from the library of St. Gall, and three from the British Museum. We could have wished that the adaptation of the *Stabat Mater*, N. xiv., had been omitted :—

*Stabat Mater speciosa,
Juxta foenum gaudiosa,
Dum jacebat parvulus.*

*Cujus animam gaudentem,
Laetabundam et ferventem
Pertransivit jubilus.*

We are of opinion that many will be with us when we say that the following verses are a trifle too quaint for modern taste :—

*Maria dux, Maria lux, et stella non erratica :
Maria fons, Maria mons, Maria rosa mystica :
Maria flos, Maria dos, Maritans ima coelica :
Maria pax, Maria fax, Illuminans umbratica (N. xix).*

Perhaps it has escaped the notice of the distinguished editor that the melody of the words "*Edocet summus fidei magister*" (N. vi.) reproduces a measure of the melody of the *Iste confessor*.

H. P.

The Tutorial History of England. By C. S. FEARENSIDE, M.A., Oxon. London : Clive. 1903. Pp. xxiii.-532.

WE were not a little astonished to receive for review another volume of history by C. S. Fearenside, as his *Matriculation Modern History* had only recently been noticed in these pages. But on comparing the two books we find that they have 331 pages in common, pages 25-356 in the *Matriculation Modern History*, and pages 171-502 in the *Tutorial History* being all but absolutely identical. No doubt this reprinting of what is in itself good is designed to meet the requirements of the different classes of students for whom the books are intended. At the same time, it would not have been unreasonable to look for some statement in the Preface to the effect that only one-third of the book was new, the remaining two-thirds being a reprint of a previous work.

Again, comparing the prefaces of the two books, we cannot

escape the impression that literature, like other products, is manufactured for the market.

Matriculation Modern History. 1902. "The main features of the book are the attempt to observe due proportion between the various periods handled, the provision of topical contents to each chapter and an exceptionally full index, and the careful division of the subject-matter into parts, chapters, and sections, each of which has a real unity in itself and a real connexion with its neighbours" (Preface, paragraph 3).

Tutorial History. "The principal features of the book may be summarised as follows: Great pains have been taken to observe due proportion in treating the several periods of our history, to indicate the general trend of events in each period before proceeding to a detailed narrative, and to facilitate problem work by providing lists of topics in the chapter headings and by inserting numerous cross-references" (Preface, paragraph 2).

We have made these comments with all the more regret, because we have no general criticism of the volume but what is favourable, as was stated in the April issue of the DUBLIN REVIEW, with respect to the matter contained in pages 171-502. Nay more, we have especially to recognise in the earlier and new portion of this publication a sobriety and thorough fairness of judgment in reference to historical personages, some of whom have usually been presented to the British public in a very different manner; such, for example, is the treatment of SS. Gregory, Augustine, Theodore, Anselm, Thomas of Canterbury, and the Dominican and Franciscan Friars.

The new portion contains useful maps, tables, and plans, and deals in an interesting manner with the earliest inhabitants of the island, the people of the old and new Stone Age and the Bronze Age. There is an original section of Feudalism, and others equally good on the settling of the country after the Norman Conquest, and on the rise of the Parliamentary system.

H. P.

Le Catholicisme en France. Par JAMES FORBES, Prêtre.
Paris: Lethielleux. Pp. 96. 1902.

SOcial and economic problems are not the proper sphere of priestly work, except when there is danger of their being governed by activities adverse to the interests of justice or religion. And it has come about that in England, as

well as in France, those who are entrusted primarily with a spiritual mission must, for the sake of that mission, promote and safeguard interests which are of their own nature temporal. To pretend that the Catholic Church is the religion of the poor is to misunderstand it: it is equally the religion of all. To point to a devoted clergy who minister cheerfully to men and women in all degrees of dirt, destitution and helplessness, is like pointing to the heroism of the undaunted men who served the British guns at Colenso. Years ago Dr. Barry raised a controversy by the maxim, "First civilize, then Christianize." The cry came as a surprise, because men were inattentive or asleep. And while it is often venturesome to criticize a country in which one does not reside, we may without scruple accept the statement of M. l'Abbé Beauregard :

"Presque tous nos confrères, religieux ou prêtres séculiers, ne comprennent rien à ces questions capitales.

"Au lieu de s'appliquer à former des élites sociales, à tous les degrés de l'échelle, ils bâtissent des chapelles, achètent de beaux ornements, établissent des vestiaires, nourrissent des mendiants et prêchent devant des femmes et devant des chaises.

"Pendant ce temps, la *Petite Gironde*, à Bordeaux, la *Dépêche*, à Toulouse, empoisonnent chacune quatorze départements et tarissent toute vie chrétienne. . . .

"Et le grand commerce et la grande industrie et les contre-maîtres et les ouvriers d'élite ! La belle affaire ! Nous sommes faits pour les pauvres" (p. 7).

The writer loses no time in phrases or apologies ; he bluntly presents his view, backs it up with some specimen figures, and leaves it for consideration, or if need be, refutation. His points are briefly these : The Catholic Church is losing ground in France among the middle and lower classes. Not only do the vast majority of youth fall away after their first communion, but in some districts a very large percentage of children are not even baptised. To such a pass have things come, that when boys have been brought up in Catholic schools they will give their votes later on in opposition to Catholic interests. Notwithstanding the 50,000 priests in France, the parochial clergy in some of the large towns are quite unequal to the labour imposed upon them. Some of the parishes in Paris are so large as to be utterly unmanageable.

Add to this, that many of the clergy seem unable to appreciate the movement of the times and the trend of public opinion. It

would seem, too, that in some instances a really serious effort is not made to keep in hand the boys who have reached the period of emancipation—the day of their first communion.

One remedy proposed is the provision of Catholic schools where boys, under proper religious control, would be instructed in the various departments of the arts and manufactures; the object being to produce skilled artizans of the first rank, who would be able to command the best situations in the factories, and gradually to Christianize their surroundings.

“Nos usines sont des enfers: elles ne deviendront habitables que lorsque nous aurons changé les cadres” (p. 9).

“Un prêtre éminent de Roubaix, M. l'Abbé Vassart, est entré avec grand succès dans une voie nouvelle, créant de toutes pièces, à Roubaix, un Institut de jeunes patrons ou de fils de patrons de la grande industrie avec cinq divisions ou ateliers.

“Chaque jour, l'Abbé Vassart, préside un entretien familial, dit de bon sens, sur les questions religieuses. L'Institut délivre un brevet très recherché par les industriels” (p. 43).

Another suggestion is to increase the number of chapels of ease, and the number of religious women devoted to works of charity.

A third remedy proposed is that preaching should be directed and adapted to men.

“Un troisième remède sera que le prêtre, comme l'on dit, aille au peuple. Or, aller au peuple, c'est avant tout combler cet abominable fossé qui, tous les jours, se creuse et s'élargit entre l'homme du peuple et le prêtre” (p. 50).

“Dans beaucoup d'endroits, on a fait des avances aux hommes; on les a visités, et, au lieu de loupes, on n'a trouvé que des agneaux. On les a appelés dimanche à une messe d'hommes et ils sont venus; à un carême d'hommes, et ils sont venus; à des missions, et ils sont venus et se sont convertis par centaines.”

This object naturally desiderates a well educated clergy. Men are not satisfied with fine or tender phrases; they must be dealt with as men. They must be addressed with clearness, freshness, vigour, and with a real competence in the treatment of the religious questions, difficulties, needs and aspirations of the ever-changing world of human life.

Those who by their position are the leaders of the people should procure this little book, of which M. Bodley writes:

“Votre brochure est l'un des documents les plus importants que j'aie rencontrés sur l'état de l'Eglise de France” (p. 9).

H. P.

Histoire Contemporaine. Tome Quatrième. Par M. SAMUEL DENIS. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie.

IN this, the fourth and last volume of the series, M. Denis concludes his history of the events in France which succeeded the Franco-Prussian war. He here completes his review of the Presidency of M. Thiers, and deals with that of Marshal MacMahon down to the foundation of the Republican constitution by the National Assembly. The policy of M. Thiers is again severely criticised, and he is once more accused of inconsistency in his drift towards Republican principles and of failure to keep solemn promises which he is supposed to have made to the Assembly. In a notice of the previous volume, the present reviewer pointed out the reasons which seemed to him to render these charges baseless. It is only necessary to add that the course of events recorded in this volume fully justifies the defence then made. In what is called "*le pacte de Bordeaux*," it is clear that M. Thiers' promise of impartiality was not absolute, but was to hold good till such a time as France was comparatively free from her then overwhelming troubles, which overbore all other considerations, and ready to form a new constitution. M. Thiers did not make his declaration in favour of the Republican form of Government until the cause of Royalty had been ruined, as M. Denis himself admits, by the intransigence of the Comte de Chambord. It was impossible that France should remain permanently in a state of uncertainty and political instability, and M. Thiers was only acting as a statesman and patriot when he recognised the situation. If, in so doing, he betrayed his country's interests, the Royalist majority must also bear this stigma, since they, later on, voted the new constitution. It is strange that M. Denis should defend them from this charge, which, he says, was brought against them by the irreconcilables of the right, on the very ground that, when the Comte de Chambord had failed them, they could not do otherwise, while he is yet unable to see that this defence also covers the case of M. Thiers. Besides, these personal attacks are not history, which is nowadays leaving more and more to biography the difficult, and often invidious task of assessing actions from a moral standpoint, and is learning to confine itself to its proper sphere of estimating the forces by which those actions were shaped and of tracing their combined effects upon the results.

H. C. C

Les Principaux Chants Liturgiques. Plain-Chant Grégorien traditionnel, d'après les Manuscrits; Notation Musicale, avec indication du rythme et de la tonalité. Par AMÉDÉE GASTOUÉ. Paris: Poussielgue. Pp. xxxi.-201. 1903.

WE have only one misgiving, only one reserve with regard to this book and the category to which it belongs. The study of the ancient manuscripts is fascinating and important; the gradual elaboration of a true and artistic style of rendering the Chant of the Church, it is quite needless to say, deserves the warmest encouragement; the multiplication of distinct melodies for the same portion of the liturgy is but to add to our wealth; but the multiplication of elaborately edited variants of a common melody attached to the same text of the liturgy, or other text in common use, is a thing to be deplored. As simple instances of what is meant, we may cite from the present edition the *Asperges*, *Vidi aquam*, *Confiteor*, *In paradisum*, *Pange lingua* (121), *Pange lingua (cantus hispaniens)*, *Ave verum*, *Auctor beate*, *Alma Redemptoris*, *Ave Regina*, *Stabat mater*, *Litany of the Saints*.

We infer that this volume is intended to supersede the official Chant, which, however, is nowhere referred to. We also notice a curious irrelevance at p. xxii.

"On nous rendra la justice d'avoir, en tout ceci, suivi comme règle de conduite l'adage: 'In necessariis unitas; in dubiis libertas; in omnibus charitas,' afin que tout concoure à la glorification de l'Idéal divin."

It would have been more to the point to have called the reader's attention to the Church's unquestionable desire for "Cantus uniformitas." By whatever means this is ultimately to be attained, and whatever may be the final result of much present striving in opposite directions, uniformity in chant as in liturgy is Rome's ideal.

The fulness of the title and sub-title explain sufficiently the scope and character of the manual. Nothing is left for the reviewer but to point out one or two prominent features.

In the first place, all that belong to the material structure of the book—paper and printing of both music and letterpress are excellent. In the xxxi. pages of introduction, we have the *apparatus criticus*, an explanation of the notation employed, which is the staff notation (in C) with the quaver as the unit of measure. All these features we commend with pleasure.

The text is that of the liturgical books, though a few non-liturgical pieces in common use have been added. The various melodies provided for the Common of the Mass have been, for the most part, selected from MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As far as possible, the date and source of the melody have been given, and the greatest possible care has been bestowed on the editing of the melodies. The purpose of the additional signs or marks employed is to indicate measure or rhythm, pace and pauses. In no case have marks of mere expression been introduced. All directions in the body of the book are in Latin, the preface only being in French.

H. P.

P. Fr. de Rémusat : Mémoire sur ma Détention au Temple, 1797-99. Par VICTOR PIERRE. Paris : Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1903.

THIS is a narrative by one of the victims of the Directoire, after the coup d'état of the autumn of 1797, of his imprisonment in the Temple, where, for the space of nearly two years, he was denied justice, though the proofs of his innocence were repeatedly established. The description of the sufferings and injustices to which he and the other prisoners were exposed, is the more impressive from its brevity and simplicity, and evident freedom from exaggeration. He was one of those few fortunates who ultimately escaped with his life and goods, but it was only "by the skin of his teeth," through a happy change of administration. The following quotation sums up in a few words the general conclusions he drew from his experiences as to the chances of justice possessed by those in his unfortunate situation :—

"Il est évident d'après cela que le Directoire avait droit de vie et de mort sur tous les Français ; quand il voulait sacrifier un citoyen, il le faisait arrêter comme *conspirateur* ; si l'on ne trouvait aucune preuve de conspiration, il le faisait inscrire sur la liste comme *émigré*, après quoi il le livrait à la commission militaire pour être fusillé comme *inscrit*. Je sentis dès lors qu'il était aussi inutile de se justifier que dangereux de se plaindre, et je pris en gémissant le parti nécessaire du silence et de la résignation."

The volume contains, besides, a plan "of the Temple," a

somewhat unnecessarily long introduction by the editor, a short notice of the author's life, and an appendix, which consists chiefly of the official papers relating to his accusation and trial, and includes a list of his fellow-prisoners.

H. C. C.

Madame de Stael et Napoléon. Par PAUL GAUTIER. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1903.

THIS is at once a most informing and entertaining book, treating, as it does, of the relations between two geniuses so totally opposed in ideas and temperament as Mme. de Stael and Napoleon. It was impossible that either should understand the other. At the beginning of Napoleon's career, Mme. de Stael regarded him as the destined saviour of France. So little did she understand him, that she endeavoured to exercise that influence over him which she brought to bear so successfully upon others, and to bend him to her purposes, a certain amount of feminine coquetry being blended with this attitude. Napoleon, from the first, showed himself impervious to her blandishments; and after the first few encounters, avoided meeting her. He could not understand a woman so entirely outside that narrow category of femininity, which was the only one he recognised, and which he defined so concisely when, in answer to her question as to what women, in his view, was the first in the world, he said, "She who has had the largest family."

It was long before she recognised the hopelessness of her efforts, and the stages of her disillusionment are well described. As one passionately devoted to the republican ideals, she watched with dismay the increasing absolutism of the First Consul, which she endeavoured to check by the promotion of political opposition. But France was too wearied with the violent internal crises, through which she had lately passed, to listen any longer to that small band who represented the philosophy of the revolution, and of which Mme. de Stael was the most brilliant living exponent. Banished from France, she writes books which indirectly but effectively condemn his policy. Her banishment becomes increasingly stringent, and she is driven from one country to another, as Napoleon's power extends through Europe. Wherever she goes she finds many sympathisers, and Napoleon is at length fain to confess that she has done him more harm abroad than if she had remained in

Paris. An impartial spectator must regard this strange drama with mixed feelings. On the one hand, he cannot help recognising that the heroine stands for liberty against tyranny, though certain of her views make for moral and social laxity. On the other hand, it may be said that France was like a drunken man who needed for a time to be kept under strict control, and Napoleon alone could do the work. This much must be set in the scale against the evil effects of his political and religious dragooning.

H. C. C.

Memoires de Langeron, General d'Infanterie dans l'Armée Russe. Campagnes de 1812, 1813, 1814. A Paris : Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1902.

THE greater part of this work is interesting only to military experts. It does not contain stirring adventures nor highly coloured descriptions of battles. It is a simple, soldierly record of the campaigns in which the author was engaged, confined mainly to strategical details. From the high rank of the author in the Russian army, and from the success with which he fulfilled his part in the campaigns, it may be surmised, without any special military knowledge, that his descriptions and observations are interesting and valuable.

When he writes of matters of more general interest, the very dryness of his style gives the note of truth to his record. The oft told story of the terrible retreat of Napoleon's army from Moscow is repeated here with personal touches and graphic details, which impress the mind with a sense of the reality of its horrors to a greater degree than many a narrative of more studied literary style. He is not sparing of what he considers the strategical blunders of the generals both on one side and the other. Thus he several times adversely criticises Blücher, though for the most part he describes his achievements in terms of the highest praise.

Napoleon comes in for some of his most unsparing criticism, not only for mistakes in generalship, but for what he rightly condemns as his cynical indifference to the sufferings of the millions whose health or life he sacrificed to his ambition. It does not require much technical knowledge to see that he is right in condemning the Russian campaign as a series of blunders from beginning to end, both in its inception and

execution, in which the sorry remnant of the Grand Army only escaped absolute extinction by good fortune and the slackness of the Russian generals. The same may be said of his remarks upon the Emperor's retreat on Leipsig. There are many other details of his criticisms, however, which can only be appreciated by military experts.

But when he speaks of "the inexcusable weakness" of Napoleon in abdicating after the entry of the allies into Paris, one cannot but recognise that his personal hatred of this "adventurer," as he calls him more than once, has blinded him to the plain facts of the situation, which rendered any other course impossible. The volume includes a lengthy preface by the editor, in which he confirms or criticises the recital of Langeron in comparing it with other sources of information. It contains also a map of the campaign of 1813.

H. C. C.

Le Comte de Gobineau et l'Arianisme Historique. Par ERNEST SEILLIERE. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1903.

IT is difficult to know how to classify this work, being of a type, if not peculiar to itself, at least fortunately uncommon. It deals, in over 150 closely printed pages of octavo, with an essay of the Comte de Gobineau on the *inequality of the human races*. It gives no complete and connected account of the work, of which it presents the main ideas and theories apart from the facts and arguments by which they were presumably supported. It consists mainly of a kind of running commentary and criticism on these ideas and theories, with a considerable number of disjointed quotations, in but few cases exceeding a couple of lines, scattered throughout the whole, none being long enough to give an adequate notion of the Count's style or method of presenting his thesis. It is a sort of prolonged review, which does not give so much idea of the contents and style of the book as one much shorter might have done. This occupies about a third of the volume, and the rest is devoted to other works of the Count treated by the same method. The author's object in writing such a book as this is nowhere precisely stated. The nearest approach to such a statement is found in the first three paragraphs of the opening chapter, which really ought to have been printed separately as a preface. From these few words, it may be gathered that one of his objects is to

introduce the essay to his fellow-countrymen, to whom it is practically unknown, because it once excited the interest of certain German professors. But the real question he had to consider was whether this work, written more than half-a-century ago and deposited in the lumber-room of the past, was worth the trouble of dragging out to the light of the present day. He himself supplies the answer in maintaining that the original thought and fertile imagination of the essay are rendered valueless by its lack of essential scientific principles.

From what he says in several places, he seems to regard it as having a relative value as representing an early stage in the science of ethnology. If his object was to promote its study from this point of view, it would have been better served by a volume containing an abridgement, in which his own opinions and criticisms had been relegated to the introduction and to marginal notes.

H. C. C.

Etudes sur Saint Jerome. Par Dom L. SANDERS, O.S.B.

Paris : Libraire Victor Lecoffre. 1903.

IN this volume Dom Sanders, after giving a survey of the life and writings of St. Jerome, discusses the attitude of that great saint on such questions as the Inspiration and Veracity of the Bible, the Canon, the Apocrypha, and the like.

Dom Sanders has evidently devoted much time and labour to the study of St. Jerome's writings and the preparation of the volume before us. But we feel bound to confess that treatises of this kind, which profess to lay before the reader the views of men who lived fifteen hundred years ago, upon complex and difficult questions, always seem to us unsatisfactory. There are, it is true, men whose opinions are clear and beyond doubt. St. Jerome is not one of these. How many different conclusions have not students of his works derived from them? And when one has read through such a volume as Dom Sanders', one feels still unconvinced, and is inclined to suspect that there are other ways of looking at the thing.

In regard to inspiration, we have little doubt that St. Jerome held much the same view that is taught in Catholic text-books of our own day. Dom Sanders attributes to our saint a belief in a certain kind of verbal inspiration (p. 128, etc.), though not

apparently what is technically called verbal inspiration. St. Jerome believed, he says, "in the inspiration of the whole of Scripture. But this embraces not only the thoughts and sentences, but also the words which have served to express the thoughts. Hence the words are inspired, for without the words there is no Scripture; and it is nowhere said that ideas are inspired: whence it follows logically, immediately necessarily, that the words are equally inspired."

It seems unfortunate to use the term "verbal inspiration" and attribute it to our saint in a different sense from that which it usually bears. It leads to misunderstanding. But we freely confess not to be able to follow Dom Sanders' reasoning as to the degree in which St. Jerome holds that the words of Scripture are inspired. To us it seems all the other way: that St. Jerome attached little or no importance to the *word* of Scripture as opposed to the *thought*.

In regard to science, Dom Sanders says that our saint taught that the Holy Writers went by what appeared to the senses and not by what is scientifically true. He thinks, moreover, that in regard to history, St. Jerome admitted the presence of errors in Scripture, where the inspired writers do not profess to be doing more than recording the popular opinion as to events past.

Though admitting the canonicity of the deuteronomical books of the New Testament, Dom Sanders concludes that St. Jerome rejected the deuteronomical books of the Old. Here we enter upon very dubious ground. For it is not easy to say how far in this matter St. Jerome merely refers to the uselessness of the deuteronomical books for controversy with heretics and Jews; especially as he himself so often quotes them just as he does the other books of Sacred Scripture.

It is in fact most difficult to arrive at the real opinions of St. Jerome. His career was so long, and his writings so voluminous, entailing, doubtless, many changes of attitude on matters of scholarship and interpretation. Then again, we know from himself that he considered himself justified in modifying the expression of his views in the interest of the argument he was sustaining. Furthermore, we cannot lose sight of his temperament. He allowed himself not infrequently to be carried away and even to exaggerate in the heat of controversy. No wonder, then, that different students of his writings have reached different conclusions as to his opinions.

Dom Sanders' study of St. Jerome is characterised by

thoroughness and ability. He has evidently applied himself to his task with single-hearted fidelity, and an honest desire to ascertain the views of the great doctor. We may say for ourselves that we have read his work with much interest; and that we hope that the perusal of it will be an incitement to others to apply themselves to the study of St. Jerome's works with a view to ascertaining his ideas and conclusions for themselves.

J. A. H.

Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ: Josue. Auctore Fr. DE HUMMELAUER, S.J. Parisiis: P. Lethielleux. 1903. 8vo, pp. 531. 10 fr.

WE have already noticed this publication in an article entitled "Fr. de Hummelauer and the Hexateuch," in the July number of the DUBLIN REVIEW. It is therefore unnecessary to add much to what was there said regarding the commentary on Josue. We notice that Fr. de Hummelauer elaborates still further in it the principles laid down in the commentary on Deuteronomy regarding the transmission of the text, and the vicissitudes which it experienced in its passage through the centuries.

In the introduction, the learned author enters in some detail into the question of the relation between the narrative of Judges and that of Josue as to the conquest of Canaan, meeting the objections of modern critics. He explains the state of affairs which existed in Palestine in the days of Josue, and discusses the sources of Josue, which he holds to have been certain contemporary annals, treated with considerable freedom.

Regarding the end which the sacred writer had in view in writing the book of Josue, Fr. de Hummelauer has some important statements to make. Josue, he says, is not a history written *propter se* but *propter aliud*; that is to say, to edify the reader and inculcate religious truth. Hence the author did not pretend to write down everything contained in the sources from which he drew. He selected such facts as were best suited to help on the end he had in view. The same cause also influenced the form of the narrative. Thus, some of the conversations recorded in Josue are evidently amplified editions of what existed in the sources. Substantially, no doubt, they correspond with the original; they differ in form.

These opinions Fr. de Hummelauer justifies on the principle that the end of Josuë was not historical, but the edification of the reader. "In the parable," he writes (p. 83), "we look for such truth as is adapted to the parable; in poetry, for poetic truth; in history strictly so called, for the closest possible conformity between the narrative and what is recorded as having been said and done; in sacred history, for such conformity as will most efficaciously edify the reader and illustrate religious truth."

The reader will easily recognise the serious import of these words.

The Commentary, as those which have preceded it from Fr. de Hummelauer's pen, is scholarly and learned. No student, above all no Catholic student, should be without this volume.

J. A. H.

Key to the Hebrew Psalter. By the Rev. G. A. ALCOCK.
London: Elliot Stock. 1903.

"IN sending forth this volume from the press, it has been the author's aim to supply to Bible students generally, to candidates for the ministry, to many, he hopes, of the clergy themselves, the means of their becoming well acquainted with the grandest, the oldest, and, he may add, the most interesting and instructive, the most fascinating and attractive, of all the languages which exist on earth."

The volume is, in fact, a lexicon for the Psalter, containing, in addition, an Anglo-Hebrew vocabulary.

For the most part, the meanings assigned to Hebrew words are those of the authorised and revised versions.

What is of special value in the book is the list of references to the passages in which each word occurs in the Psalter. This feature will render it most useful to students making a careful study of the Psalms.

There are one or two shortcomings in Mr. Alcock's valuable work to which we should like to call attention.

It seems a pity that the author did not adhere to the usual practice of dictionary editors, and print at the top of each page the three first letters of the word with which it commences or ends. The absence of such guidance causes unnecessary trouble to the student who uses the book.

Again, perhaps the dictionary would have been more valuable if a larger selection of renderings had been given for the different

words. Doubtless the decisions of the revisers are scholarly and the result of careful study; still, they not infrequently are at variance with the conclusions of equally competent men. In a key to the Psalter one would like to see a large range of renderings, having authoritative support.

These defects do not deprive the work of its value. It runs on the right lines. Whilst therefore indicating the direction in which its worth may be enhanced, we can heartily recommend it to the Hebrew scholar, especially to those who are interested in the careful study of the Psalter.

J. A. H.

Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings. By the Rev. C. F. BURNEY, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xlviii.-384. 14s. 1903.

THIS volume is a critical and grammatical commentary on the Books of Kings, after the model of that published some years ago by Professor Driver on the Books of Samuel. Mr. Burney remarks in the preface, that in the notes he has not been unmindful of beginners in the study of the Hebrew tongue. Such is indeed the case, and beginners anxious to make a thorough study of the Books of Kings will find this volume of the greatest assistance. The author acknowledges the debt of gratitude he owes to Dr. Driver for his teaching and example. It is indeed clear that he has taken his inspiration from that great Orientalist; but we know enough of Mr. Burney already* to be able to say that he has introduced into the present volume a mine of information of his own.

The main compiler of the Books of Kings was one of those who wrote under the influence of the religious revival which took place in the eighteenth year of King Josiah, B.C. 621. His style is that of Deuteronomy, and hence he is generally referred to under the symbol R^D. Such being the case, he must have written after the year B.C. 621, but as the influence of the reformation effected in the reign of Josiah was evidently still fresh in men's minds, he cannot have written long after that event. Mr. Burney fixes the date about the year B.C. 600.

In their present form, however, the Books of Kings must be more recent than the destruction of the kingdom. The pre-

* Cf. His article on "Kings" in Hasting's Dict.

exilic books must have received additions from later hands, some of which take us down to the year B.C. 561. Some of these additions Mr. Burney considers to have been made by a man of the same school of thought as the original compiler, and so he refers to him under the symbol R^D.

But apparently a still later stratum of additions is to be found in Kings, coloured by the influence of the priestly code. The redactor in this case is represented by the symbol R^P.

Such is, according to Mr. Burney, the history of the composition of Kings. But it must not be forgotten that the original compiler drew his information from such sources as the Acts of Solomon, the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, etc., etc.

In elucidating textual difficulties, Mr. Burney brings to bear the ancient versions when they are at all likely to throw light on the passage, either as attesting the existence of different readings in the old Hebrew, or as proving textual degeneration in the existing Hebrew. The versions of most importance in this connection are the Septuagint and Lucian's recension, the old Latin, the Peshitto, and the Targum.

Mr. Burney manifests great critical acumen in dealing with the text. We cannot undertake to introduce specific instances of his work here. But we must admit that though we were impressed by the plausibility of many of the suggested emendations, the conjectural element seemed to enter very largely into them. Such we thought to be especially the case in the chapters dealing with the building and dedication of the temple.

A most important help to the interpretation of Kings vii. 27-37, has been the recent discovery of two bronze stands of Mycenæan workmanship, one from Larnaka, the other from Enkomi. The ten bases, described in the passage referred to, may now be fairly well understood. Before the discovery of the two stands the passage was involved in hopeless obscurity. We congratulate Mr. Burney on the production of a thoroughly helpful and scholarly work.

J. A. H.

Christus-und Apostelbilder. J. E. WEIS-LIEBERSDORF.
Freiburg-im-Breisgau : Herder. 8vo, pp. 124. 1902.

THIS essay is devoted to an investigation of the origin and history of the different types according to which Christ and His apostles are represented in Christian art. A great deal of time and labour have been devoted to the elucidation of the subject in recent years—men of such known ability and learning as Albert Hanck, Holtzmann, Dietrichson and Victor Schultze having written important treatises about it. There is, however, still room for a good deal of difference of opinion as to the origin and mutual relation of the different types : in fact the subject has not yet by any means emerged from the obscurity in which it has been involved.

Ancient monuments, pictorial representations in the catacombs, and paintings in the old churches, are some of the chief witnesses upon which modern writers rely. But, of course, there are besides the older ecclesiastical writers, and above all, the surviving gnostic literature, including the Acts of Peter, Andrew, and the other Apostles. For as the influence of gnostic ideas are to be traced in the writings of the early Fathers, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it also made itself felt in the region of early Christian art.

Regarding our Saviour, two types have prevailed in sculpture and painting : one a youthful type, the other bearded, as at the present day. The youthful type appears to have been the earlier of the two, and to have been influenced to some extent by the prevalence of gnostic art.

Regarding the representations of the Apostles, most interest centres around those of Peter and Paul together ; some modern writers setting down the combination as a result of a reaction against the anti-Pauline legend of the earlier centuries. For this view there seems to be no foundation, the more natural explanation of the union being the common work of the two Apostles in Rome, and the fact that they were recognised as being respectively the Apostles of the Jews and the Gentiles.

J. A. H.

The Science of the Saints in Practice. By JOHN BAPTIST PAGANI, of the Institute of Charity. In four vols. Third edition. London: Washbourne, 4, Paternoster Row; New York: Benziger Brothers. 1903.

WE cannot speak too highly of this admirable work. It gives us, in pleasing and very persuasive language, not only what the saints believed, but *what they did*. When a motive for practising a particular virtue is given, that motive is at once supported by instances of such and such saints putting it into execution. We may listen without much emotion to what even these great servants of God said or wrote in their time; but when there is question of what they themselves did, our indifference is awakened into imitation, and in that allurements perhaps lies the peculiar charm of the work. Another laudable feature consists in a month being devoted to each of the twelve subjects that make up the work. A chapter, headed by a text of Scripture and an extract from the writings of a saint, is allotted to each day of the month, and thereby each subject is not only pretty well exhausted, but is more securely and permanently fixed on the mind and heart of the reader. It is one of those rare spiritual books that is sure to confer solid and lasting benefit. The *Science of the Saints* is replete with the unction earned by almost a life-time of ill-health on the part of its author. We cordially wish these four well got-up and handsome volumes a wide circulation.

JNO. M.

The Called of God. By the late A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh. Edited by Professor J. A. Paterson, D.D., with Biographical Introduction by A. Taylor Innes, Advocate. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 38 George Street.

THIS book may be said to fulfil a double function. As a volume of thoughtful yet practical sermons on some of the chief characters in Holy Scripture, it provides some solid devotional reading and sound homely lessons, which may be useful to others besides the Presbyterian congregations to which they were first delivered. In this respect, it is only a slight contribution, however fresh and original, to the vast mass of

homiletical literature. But beyond this, it has a distinct value of its own, as a singularly pleasing and appropriate memorial of a true Scottish scholar. The name of the late Hebrew professor of Edinburgh was well known to English Biblical students, more especially by the share he took in the production of Dr. Hasting's great *Bible Dictionary*, to which he contributed some of the most important articles, *e.g.*, that on "Prophecy" and "Prophets." But though the worth of his writings was appreciated by a wide circle of readers, the man himself was, we believe, but little known outside the privileged ranks of his immediate friends and disciples. Yet there was much in him that was well worth knowing. And in the present volume, Dr. Paterson and Mr. Innes have given us some of the advantages of this personal knowledge. The biographical introduction is a brief but graphic account of Dr. Davidson's career. Its earlier pages, which tell of his boyhood and his mother's hope that he might enter the ministry, will remind some readers of Ian Maclaren's "lad o' pairts." And, later on, we have a pleasing picture of the venerable professor in the midst of his work at Edinburgh, where he filled the Hebrew Chair for more than a generation.

The sermons contained in this collection have been well chosen, for there is much in them that serves to reveal the character of the preacher; and thus they help to complete the effect of the accompanying biography. Apart from the personal interest which lends a charm to the book, it is very gratifying to meet with this combination of deep piety with sound critical scholarship, which characterized the life and teaching of this genial Scottish scholar.

W. H. K.

The New English Garner.

An English Garner: Social England Illustrated. A Collection of Seventeenth Century Tracts. With an Introduction by ANDREW LANG. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd. 1903.

An English Garner: Critical Essays and Literary Fragments. With an Introduction by J. CHURTON COLLINS. Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd. 1903.

STUDENTS of English history and literature will be glad to see a new edition of Professor Arber's valuable *English Garner*. For though the chief works of our great writers have often been reprinted, and are now within ready reach of all,

there are many stray tracts and pamphlets of genuine historical value which are only too likely to be lost or overlooked, unless they are thus brought together in some collection of this kind and made accessible to modern readers. In the present issue of the *Garner*, which is under the general editorship of Mr. Thomas Seccombe, the matter is the same, but it has been cast in a new form. The eight volumes of the original edition have now become twelve, in which the several tracts and papers have been newly distributed with due regard to the nature of their subjects. Each volume has, moreover, been furnished with a new introduction from the hand of some competent critic. Thus, in the case of the two volumes now before us, one is composed of papers likely to throw light on the social condition of England in the seventeenth century; while the other is mainly confined to matters of literary criticism.

The arrangement now adopted certainly has its advantages; but it is clear that the task of classification must have been no light one, for much of the matter is so varied in its nature that there is hardly any room for scientific precision. This variety is especially noticeable in the volume of "Social England" (illustrated), which undoubtedly furnishes some fine confused reading. Here we have, *inter alia*, a treatise on English dogs, by the founder of Caius College; notes on wines used in England in the sixteenth century; a paper on English army rations in the time of Elizabeth; "The Secrets of Angling;" "England's Way to Win Wealth;" a discourse on leather; "The Carrier's Cosmography;" "The Second Generation of English Actors;" and "An account of the Torments the French Protestants endured aboard the Galleys."

With regard to the last of these tracts, we are tempted to ask, "What is it doing in this collection?" Whatever may be its literary and historical value, it hardly helps to illustrate the social condition of England, except in the incidental notice of the shelter afforded to the Huguenot refugees. Can it be said that this dark page of French persecution is a foil to bring out the brightness of English toleration? The reader who would fain lay that flattering unction to his soul will do well to turn to Matthew Arnold's words on the treatment of Irish Catholicism under the Penal Code, "a treatment much worse than Louis the Fourteenth's treatment of French Protestantism; much worse, even, than the planters' treatment of their slaves, and yet maintained without scruple by our religious people while they were

invoking the vengeance of heaven on Louis the Fourteenth, and were turning up their eyes in anguish at the ill-usage of the distant negro" (*Irish Essays*, p. 40.). In saying this, we are not advocating the suppression of M. Bion's tract. But it might surely find some more appropriate place in a collection illustrating the condition of France; or, better still, in a collection of papers dealing with the violent measures adopted by both parties in those evil days. We may add that Mr. Lang, as might be expected, treats this subject in a just and impartial spirit. As he says in the introduction, when touching on Bion's tract, "To torture people for their faith is an essential part of no religion, and we do not really know why Bion gave up his post, went to Geneva and turned Protestant."

The volume of *Critical Essays* is, naturally, more homogeneous in its character, and like its companion, it contains much valuable matter which is not otherwise readily accessible. Dryden's essay on "Dramatic Poesy," with Howard's papers on the other side of the controversy, take up a good part of the volume; and among the other pieces we may notice a complete collection of all that relates to Swift's "Partridge Hoax." The latter part of the volume is devoted to papers illustrating the social position of the Anglican clergy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a question which has been the theme of considerable controversy; the most important of these being Eachard's treatise, "The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy, and Religion enquired into," in a letter written to R. L. Some of Steele's papers on this topic add to the interest of the discussion and give it a more distinctly literary flavour.

There has apparently been some slip in the arrangement of the pieces in this volume. For Mr. Collins's introduction takes Copleston's "Advice to a Young Reviewer" immediately after Dryden's critical essays, and speaks of Ellwood's reminiscences of Milton as coming next; whereas the order of these two papers is in fact reversed. In any case, the Oxford satire on the methods of reviewers is somewhat out of place in this collection. It is certainly well worth preserving. But it has already been included in Professor Morley's volume of famous pamphlets. Mr. Collins advises the reader to compare this tract with Thackeray's remarks on reviewing in *Pendennis*. It would also be well to compare certain real reviews of Keat's *Endymion* with Copleston's mock critique on *L'Allegro*.

W. H. K.

Back to Rome. By SCRUTATOR. London: Sands and Co.
8vo, pp. 224.

THE letters which make up this book are letters to an Anglican clergyman, not from one. The reader must not hope to find an exposition of the difficulties which Anglicans find in Catholic doctrines, nor of the workings of a mind on which the light of truth is gradually dawning. If any such expectations were raised by the title *Back to Rome*, they must be put aside. The writer of the letters is a Catholic, and he is giving the Catholic view of the great questions of religion, not the High Church view. He is anxious to help his friend, who, though not professing to be a High Churchman—he “cannot describe himself as belonging to any known party in the Church of England”—yet is attracted by the “superior tone and learning of the High Church party,” but he has not much sympathy for High Church views. He often wonders whether the Bishops, theologians and learned laymen who are working hard to falsify history, and to demonstrate that the English Church is really Catholic, really and honestly believe that this astonishing notion will ultimately find acceptance, and that it will become the permanent belief of intelligent Englishmen. He not only considers the “Anglo-Catholic” position to be logically and historically untenable, in which we fully agree with him, but he seems to find it hard to believe that any intelligent Englishman can think otherwise.

The question to the solution of which he advises his friend to address himself, as summing up all other questions, is, who and what is Christ? The Catholic answer to this question is clear. We say with the Apostles: “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,” and we say it without any kind of mental reserve.

To the Protestant, we are told, “that unhesitating confession of faith, of course, is impossible. He has no external authority upon which he can construct it, and his own judgment in the matter is necessarily hampered by a thousand circumstances and conditions, by the very air he breathes, and the very environments of his daily life. If he holds it at all, he holds it upon imperfect and inadequate grounds, and there is no reason why he should not, at any moment, be called upon to part with it” (p. 32).

We hope we have not misunderstood our author, but as we

read this statement it appears to us misleading. It is, we think, untrue in fact, for we should not hesitate to affirm that many good and learned men in the Church of England believe, with regard to the Divinity and Incarnation of our Lord, all that the Catholic Church teaches. "He has no external authority upon which he can construct it, and his own judgment is necessarily hampered." If by authority is meant any influence other than reason, which can engender and foster a belief, this statement requires modification. Belief in the infallibility must, in the logical order, rest on belief in the Divinity of Christ, not precede it; and therefore we think our author cannot have meant us to understand that a confession of faith in the Divinity of Christ is impossible to those who cannot construct it on the teaching of an infallible authority.

The book contains much that is interesting reading, and although, as we have said, it does not profess to be an exposition of Anglican difficulties, yet it certainly furnishes the true answer to many difficulties, and may help to remove many obstacles and many prejudices.

M. B.

Poets and Dreamers : Studies and Translations from the Irish. By Lady GREGORY. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis and Co. London : John Murray. Pp. 254.

IT has been morosely said, "Ce qui ne vaut pas la peine d'être dit on le chante." But old Fuller knew better.

Before Chaucer lived songs of love and sorrow welled from the hearts of the Irish people. The mass of traditional poetry lost to letters by the sweeping away of the Irish language, with its long strain of folk-thought and folk-expression, is greater than English readers imagine. Something of its value may be guessed from Dr. Hyde's translations of the "Love-songs of Connacht." To collect its aftermaths Lady Gregory has made much wandering in all parts of Ireland. By cabin fires, on mountain sides or in the roadways, in old churchyards, in modern workhouses, she has learned from the lips of the peasantry the poetry with which they live. In this delightful book she gives us, in her cunningly-devised English, some of the fruit and flower of her labour of love. Such transcripts of folk-tales, legends and laments are of the foundations of literature.

After Cromwell's time, as the houses frequented by the wandering bards grew poorer, music was added to the verse-making. Lady Gregory gives us a vivid sketch of one of the last of these minstrels—Raftery, a blind fiddler, but gifted song-maker. His verses, like those of all such poets, never written, were learned by the people and handed down. In combat with rivals, he had a mordant gift of unsparing invective. But his love songs have all the light of the sun, the joy of nature, in them. His religious songs, of Wrath, of Repentance, have a force and reality quite unconventional. We shall soon have many of his poems in book form from Dr. Hyde.

In the little rock island of Aran, the breakwater of Europe, amid the misty dreaminess, the unearthly silences of their surroundings, Irish ballads are still made and sung. Strangely enough, they are less imaginative than based on incidents of daily life. Laments mostly for drowned relatives, for enlistment, or arrest. Emigration songs of parting or return. For depth of passion or touch of idealism one must go to the songs of the green plains. In Aran, they have few love songs. Marriages there are arranged between heads of families. The Jacobite ballads of Ireland practically belong to Munster. In the west, James's "run from Boyne to Dublin" lost the Stuarts their devotion. Even in Munster, the singing is less for the kings than for the poets who made the verses. But the sea and the winds of the sea can never, in Ireland, be far from its dwellers, and their echoes live in the songs of the lonely listeners: its murmur is the undertone of much genuine Irish poetry. Yet it is an English pathetic fallacy to imagine the lonesomeness to be nursed by the Irish as a luxury of woe. "Better be quarrelsome than lonesome," is one of their proverbs.

The folk-simplicity of mountain theology, the folk-lore of herb-healing, the folk-memories in workhouses, the rogueries of newks or travelling tinkers (gipsies), all yield something valuable to Lady Gregory.

The Irish Literary Theatre scheme did much, through Irish dramatic writing, to awaken intellectual life in Ireland—more than Trinity College, says George Moore. Mr. MacGinlay's *Elis agus an bhean deirce*, and Father Dineen's *Creideamh agus gorta*, and particularly Dr. Hyde's plays, are convincing proofs. Lady Gregory has enriched her gift by translations of four of the poet-scholar's little plays. One of these was the first play in Irish ever given in a Dublin theatre—not the first in Dublin (The

Inghean na h-Eiream had previously given an Irish play in the Antient Concert Rooms). Lady Gregory's version of this play—"The Twisting of the Rope"—first appeared in Mr. Yeat's "Sanhaim." All four are simple and direct. One has roguish humour; another pathos and wit; and two a beauty of tenderness and exquisite reverence.

The book is worthy its theme, and worthy of the gifted hand that gave us *Cuchulain of Muirthemne*:

D. M. O'C.

A Story of St. Germain. By SOPHIE MAUDE. R. and T. Washbourne. Pp. 230.

REMEMBERING Molière, we gave this book to those for whom it was written. They were delighted with it. We think their verdict right. Mrs. Sophie Maude has a pretty fancy, a light touch, and the gift of story telling. Those who met Gay Roy in "The Duchess of York's Page," will be glad to follow his fortunes further, till he takes the momentous step that may surprise some. Little insights here and there will impress young minds worthily: the penitent years of James II.; the courage under continued trial of his saintly Queen; the peace of Nuns' lives; the heroism of Priests; and the dramatic last meeting of Gay with his father. We cordially recommend it to every young reader.

D. M. O'C.

In Holiest Troth. By SISTER MARY FIDELIS. London: Burns and Oates. 1903.

THE possibilities of early Christianity as a theme for romantic treatment were sufficiently shown by *Fabiola* and *Callista* to encourage others to seek a similar subject in another field. St. Encratida, the heroine of the present volume, was one of the Martyrs of Saragossa, the facts concerning whom are found in Prudentius and other ancient authors. "In Saragossa (says the preface) a church was raised to their honour at an early period, but destroyed by the Saracens. Their relics having been discovered in 1389, were enshrined in the crypt of the Monastery of the Jeronymites, being committed to their care by King Ferdinand the Catholic."

A magnificent church was erected in honour of St. Encratida by Charles V., and there is great devotion to her in Spain and Portugal.

Out of the materials of her life and death Sister Mary Fidelis has constructed a pathetic tale, which cannot fail to excite the reader's admiration and veneration for the girl-martyr and her companions. It opens in the year 303, when we find her living with her father, a noble Roman Senator, settled at Braga-Augusta, in Portugal. The only child of the wealthy patrician is in the enjoyment of every worldly luxury and pleasure, when she obeys the call of a higher destiny and accepts Christianity from the teaching of an aged slave. Her father, on discovering her conversion, sends her to Barcelona to meet Eudontes, the young Roman general to whom he has promised her in marriage, and she starts with a numerous suite whose names are all to be found in the Roman Martyrology among those who suffered for the faith.

The party never reached their destination. They stopped at Saragossa, where the sanctuary of Our Lady of the Pillar attracted their enthusiastic devotion, and while still there, fell victims to the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian. Dacian, the Prefect, was its instrument in Spain, and among his officers was Eudontes, who comes to greet his promised bride. His indignation at her rejection of his addresses conflicts with the impulses of his better nature, but his remorse comes too late to save her from the cruelty of his superior. The tyrant's purpose was thwarted, for the martyrdom of Encratida and her companions served only to increase the numbers converted to Christianity.

"He (Dacian) now commanded the departure of all the Christians from the city, after the assembling of them together, which took place at the Church of Our Lady of the Pillar. They had betaken themselves there with a certain joyful expectation that their trials were at an end, and that they would be at liberty to go elsewhere and serve God in peace. To Mary they commended themselves: they little thought by what way the Queen of Martyrs would lead them to their eternal Home!

"Men, women, and children all passed through the city gate—known ever after as the Gate of Treason—and took their road across the plain lying between the Erva and the Elbe. Suddenly they perceived multitudes of armed men among the trees they were passing, and quickly they understood how they had been entrapped. Some sought to regain the city, but of what avail

was the attempt? They were surrounded, and a general slaughter ensued; none were spared, from the child in its mother's arms to the old man enfeebled by age—in all one thousand Christians were sacrificed because of their fidelity to their Divine Master. History has preserved their memory, and the Church commemorates them among the innumerable Martyrs of Saragossa."

The tale is so constructed as to weave into an interesting whole the incidents and episodes chosen to illustrate this striking theme.

Encyclopædia Britannica. New volumes. Vols. xxvii., xxviii. (CHI-ELD, ELE-GLA.) London: Adam and Charles Black; and *The Times*, Printing-house Square. 4to, pp. 744-742.

THE above are rich in articles of manifold interest, and sustain the high character of the volumes previously issued and noticed in a preceding number of this Review. Amidst this wealth of valuable matter, we may be allowed to single out some few articles which are likely to attract the attention of Catholic readers. There is, in the first place, the article on the "Christian Church," by Dr. Boyd-Carpenter, the Bishop of Ripon. We are accustomed to gather from Anglican writers that their conception of the Church is one which includes the Roman, Greek, and Anglican Communions, and which does not recognize as part of that "Church" the non-episcopal or dissenting bodies. Evidently Dr. Boyd-Carpenter, although himself an Anglican bishop, takes a different view. His "Christian Church" not only groups together the Catholic and the Greek, but under the generic term "Protestant," associates with them the Anglican and the whole amalgam of other Protestant denominations. We must leave him to make his peace with the *Church Times*. The whole gist of the article is a *plaidoyer* to show the progress and "world-ascendancy" of Protestantism. Instead of straightforwardly stating the number of souls which belong to the various communions, the Bishop of Ripon burkes an enumeration which would leave with the Catholic Church the prestige of numbers, and instead asks "the Protestant reader to observe" that political power and mastery over the world is mainly in the hands of Protestants. England,

for instance, is a Protestant power. She rules India. India has a population of over 300,000,000." In this way the Bishop is enabled to write down the 300,000,000 of heathen Hindus as in some way standing to the credit side of the Protestant ledger. That is certainly ingenious. Apparently it has not occurred to the Bishop that in putting Protestantism and its progress on a mere worldly basis of political power and temporal ascendancy, he is doing more than its worst adversaries to convict it of worldliness of origin, spirit and character.

In the prefatory essay which Sir Leslie Stephen has written for one of these volumes, he altogether fails to grasp the nature and character of Catholic Faith. Thus, he permits himself to affirm that the Irish peasant accepts his faith "without asking questions at all," or on the presumption of its being held by "the best and wisest" around him, in which case he is "as much a rationalist in principle as the free-thinking artizan who is convinced by Paine's *Age of Reason*." We think that, despite the cleverness and brilliance of the essayist, he has still something to learn from the Irish peasant. The faith of a Catholic does not rest on the fact that the "best and wisest men" whom he knows are Catholics—it is often quite otherwise. Such a basis would be a human authority. He believes on the Divine Authority of Christ, as his teacher, and, aided by God's grace, he believes in Christ's divinity and mission on the reasonable grounds that are familiar to every Catholic. Faith is not rationalistic, because it rests not upon blind belief, but, as the Vatican Council teaches, upon a groundwork of truths demonstrable by reason. That is a matter upon which much can be said from the side of Catholic apologetics, and no doubt Sir Leslie Stephen may have much to say from his; but we submit that if such issues have to be raised or fought out, the pages of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* are surely not the place for the purpose; and to use its prefaces for such partisan misrepresentations as we have quoted, is to abuse a position of rare opportunity. It is the more to be regretted because the passages to which we refer disfigure an essay which, in many respects, is singularly able and interesting.

Professor Armitage Robinson has brought up to date the article on St. Clement of Rome, which appeared in a former edition of the *Encyclopædia*. He draws attention to the intervention of the Roman Church in the settlement of disputes of a Church in Greece, and also to the emphasis which St. Clement

lays on the divine institution of orderly jurisdiction and mission. Articles will be found of "Confession" and "Confirmation," by Rev. W. Burrows, and "Confirmation of Bishops," by Professor Collins, but their general interest and value suffers from their being treated chiefly from the point of view of Anglican controversies. In the last the subject is brought up to date by reference to the recent Erastian judgment in the case of Dr. Gore. A large share of vol. xxviii. is devoted to the articles on electricity. No doubt the fact that electricity promises to be the world-power of the Twentieth, as steam was of the Nineteenth Century, has claimed for it a prominent place in the pages of the Encyclopædia. The article on the "Church of England" (Professor Collins and Rev. F. Burnside) brings the history of the Establishment up to the campaign of the late Mr. Kensit. A number of statistics illustrating its work and progress form an appendix.

M.

The Gift of Pentecost: Meditations on the Holy Ghost.

By the Rev. M. MESCHLER, S.J. Translated from the German by Lady AMABEL KERR. London: Sands and Co. Pp. viii.-505. 1903.

FOREIGN ascetical works are nowadays often received with caution, or even misgiving. It has been found that they may suit others, but not ourselves. Fr. Meschler's works, however, do not deserve any mistrust. They are not built upon imagination and personal sentiment, but on the revealed truths of God as handed down to us by tradition and Holy Scripture, and expounded by the Fathers and the Doctors of Holy Church. This solidity has gained for the author a prominent name amongst modern ascetical writers.

The book on the Holy Ghost comes quite up to the perfection which we expect of Fr. Meschler. The best justification for publishing it is contained, though not *purposely*, in ch. iii., p. 23 (In the heart of the Godhead).

"But, you may say, what is the good to me of these sublime truths, these incomprehensible mysteries? I will answer you: It is fitting and right that we should know all that faith teaches us about the Person of the Holy Ghost. If God has had the condescension and goodness to incline Himself

towards us, and reveal to us something of His unsearchable secrets, surely it is right that we should try to consider it and understand it."

The author does his best to make the Holy Ghost better known and loved. The book is not light reading, but repays a careful study and a prayerful consideration of the truths set forth in its fifty-two chapters. Even those who have read other books on the same subject will here find something new. The translation deserves all praise. Paper, print, and general appearance do credit to this well-known firm of publishers.

L. N.

The History of the Passion and Death, the Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord according to the Four Gospels.

By the Rev. JOHN BELSER, D.D., Professor of Holy Scripture at the Tübingen University. Freiburg: Herder. Pp. vi. and 524. Price 8s., bound 10s. 1903.

PROFESSOR Belser is well known in Germany by his *Introduction to the New Testament*, his *Essays on the Acts of the Apostles*, and on *The Letter to the Galatians*. The present volume is the result of his lectures on and his special studies of a most interesting subject during the last fourteen years. Some of the questions and problems contained in the book have been the subjects of different articles in the *Tübingen Quartalschrift*. The most difficult of them is, no doubt, the question of the day of the Pasch; a short sketch of Dr. Belser's view will give the best idea of the value of his book.

Our Lord ate the Pasch on the proper day; this is proved by the natural way in which both He and His disciples speak about the subject. An anticipated Pasch would not be a Pasch. The supper room could be lent for a time, and yet be used afterwards by the owner himself. The scruple of the Jews to enter Pilate's house in order that they might not be prevented from eating the Pasch, is to be understood of the unleavened bread and the usual festal banquets. The crucifixion on the first day of the Pasch is not impossible, in spite of the solemnity of the day. The first day of the Pasch was not so strictly kept as the Sabbath of that week. It was permitted, *e.g.*, to prepare food (Exod. xii. 16); the executioners were not Jews; the carrying

of arms during that night by the servants of the high priests and by St. Peter, and the meeting of the Council, would be excused by necessity. The throng of people on Calvary is explained, not by the arrival of pilgrims, but by their return to their tents outside, or to neighbouring villages, which were only a Sabbath day's journey distant from Jerusalem. Simon of Cyrene's return from the field, far from causing any difficulty, is adduced as a proof that Friday was the first day of the Pasch. Simon is now considered to have been of heathen origin, therefore he could work on this day. The crosses of the thieves seem to have been carried by some heathens, but as the soldiers could not find a helper for Jesus, He had to carry His own cross. When, however, the Jews saw the heathen labourer in his working garb, they put an end to our Lord's illegal task by pointing out Simon as the proper person to carry our Lord's cross.

Besides this question about the date of the Pasch, many other important problems are touched on in the notes. The text of the book gives a continuous history of the time, commencing with the decision of the Council to have Jesus executed. The book is printed in good Latin type, and both print and paper are a credit to the publisher.

L. N.

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. By Dr. NICHOLAS GIHR.

Translated from the sixth German edition. Freiburg-im-Breisgau : B. Herder. Pp. 778.

THIS book, being a translation of an original which, within the short period of twenty-five years, has passed through six editions, possesses a recommendation obtained, as it were, by inheritance.

The work is divided into two books, the first of which (pp. 17 to 229) treats on Sacrifice in general, and on the Sacrifice of Holy Mass in particular, both of them considered under their dogmatic aspects. The treatment of the latter in its liturgical and ascetical aspect is reserved for the second book (pp. 230 to 758). Nearly two hundred authors have been consulted and laid under contribution by Dr. Gihl, who, with the industry and

dexterity of an *apis argumentosa*, has collected and selected from their teachings what best suited his purpose, knitting it skilfully up into an harmonious whole. To catechists and preachers the book will prove invaluable, and none, whether priest or layman, will be disappointed when he opens its pages in search of information and edification. It would be difficult to hit upon a question relative to Holy Mass to which the book would not furnish an appropriate answer. If, for instance, one is desirous, as in reality many are, to know the reason why the name of St. Joseph is mentioned in none of the formulas of prayer embodied into the canon of the Mass, whilst the names of so many other saints are given, let him open page 361, and read the following :
 “. . . The liturgical veneration of the holy patriarch (St. Joseph) was not developed until later on, while the formulas of prayer in question originated at an earlier epoch. This later and gradual growth of the Church's devotion to St. Joseph harmonizes wonderfully with his mysteriously hidden and retired life. At present he is honoured as the Patron of the Universal Church, and shines as a resplendent constellation in the firmament of the saints. Suarez affirms, as a devout and established opinion, that the Foster Father of Christ and the Spouse of the Blessed Virgin, excelled all the other saints—therefore, even St. John the Baptist and the Apostles—in grace and glory. In the Litany of the Saints, St. Joseph is named after John the Baptist because the latter is a martyr ; while he is mentioned before the apostles because he is a patriarch. By the established order of names in the Litany, as well as by the distinction of feasts and their celebration, the Church does not intend to decide and pronounce judgment with regard to the greatness, that is, the difference of grace, of merit, and of glory of the individual saints.”

I cannot, however, omit to mention a point in respect to which an improvement appears to me desirable, and in case of a future edition, might easily be effected. I refer to the great number of foot-notes. Some of them might profitably be incorporated into the text, and the rest inserted at their respective places between the text. This arrangement would afford great convenience to those readers who wish to avail themselves of the notes, whilst it would in no way incommode those who think they can do without them.

The reverend author tells us in his preface to the sixth edition that he intends soon to publish a work on *The Doctrine of the*

Sacraments. Welcoming this work in advance, I heartily recommend the present one, and wish it a wide circle of readers.

I. T.

A Dream of Realms Beyond Us. By ADAIR WELCKER. San Francisco : Cubery and Co.

THE author prefaces this third American edition of his work with some caustic remarks on such of his critics as declared it to be, in the words of the title, "beyond them." Among these unenlightened ones we fear we must class ourselves, despite the lengthy epistle by way of postscript with which he tries to make clear his meaning in plain prose. We gather, indeed, that he is opposed to war no less than to commerce, and seems not without a hope that the millennium may be brought about by his teaching. Among other theories expounded here is the remarkable one that injustice and coercion cause an accumulation of electrical force in the centre of the earth which will one day cause its crust to cave in and molten lava to come to the surface ! The power of expression he expends in unfolding these fantastic views shows that if he were to take himself less seriously as a prophet he might produce readable verse, as witness the following descriptive passage :

"I'll show the green and monstrous angular sprites
That in the chilly southern seas of ice,
Where shines the southern cross, control the waters,
And make the choppy seas dash icy waves
Against the mighty domes and towers of ice
Full many feet in air :
That drag the howling winds from point to point,
Shrieking as if in pain."

The subject is the discussion by a group of ethereal spirits of the nature of men and their doings on earth.

The Atonement and Intercession of Christ. By the late Principal DAVID CHARLES DAVIES, M.A. (Trevecca). Edited by D. E. Jenkins, Portmadoc. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 38, George Street. 8vo, pp. 231.

THE great leading principles in the author's life, and the compelling motives of his work, as revealed to us in these pages, were—strong faith in the Divine personality of Jesus Christ, and an ardent zeal for His honour and worship. The book treats of the highest, the holiest, and the most momentous fact that the world has ever known; and the treatment throughout is scholarly, reverent, and dignified, as becomes so sublime a theme. Not the least merit of the book is the clearness and simplicity with which the author expresses himself, manifestly with a desire that all, learned and unlearned alike, may reap the fruit of his willing labours.

The great doctrines of the Blessed Trinity, and the two natures in the one person of Jesus Christ, are rather illustrated than expounded. The author has brought together a wealth of arguments from Sacred Scripture to prove to the Christian, and to the believer in the Word of God, that these two doctrines represent two great and undeniable facts of Divine revelation.

For this his work deserves the highest praise. Whosoever reads this book must catch some of the author's spirit of devoted attachment to Jesus Christ, and cannot fail to be aroused to a strong sense of indebtedness to Him Who came on earth to be our Atonement, because He first loved us, and because He alone could bear and accomplish that divine office.

In the first chapter the author has assuredly mis-stated the Calvinistic doctrine with regard to the universality of redemption. He could not have thought that learned controversialists for centuries past would have waged such fierce contests if the matter could have been settled with the ease with which he settles it, apparently to his own perfect satisfaction. If the Calvinist, in denying the universality of redemption, meant nothing more than the denial of its application to all men, he would have stated the absolute truth. "Christ did not die for all"—*i.e.*, "He did not secure salvation for all"—must be accepted by all, and cannot be matter for controversy. The question, however, is: Is this the Calvinistic doctrine? Most assuredly it is not.

St. James, in his Epistle (ii. 20) says : " Faith without works is dead." I have quoted an authority which the author himself quotes twice on page 121. When, therefore, we read of "justification by faith," we know that this cannot mean by *faith alone*. The author gives us the principle of interpretation on page 55, when he says : " But it should be remembered also that it was the Spirit of God Himself Who made that interpretation legitimate by the verses of the context." Whether the interpretation be in the immediate context or elsewhere in Sacred Scripture, that interpretation is equally legitimate when it is obviously the same subject that is treated—faith and belief are synonymous terms.

Now, the author in numerous passages insists on the necessity of belief ; and from the context, he would seem to insist on belief alone as all that is necessary to secure salvation (pp. 70-71). " The only thing which hinders every man from possessing the blessings of the Atonement is the unbelief of his own heart " (page 158). " The sinner's salvation from the wrath of God in the end, means his continuing in a state of peace with God, or in a state of justification, to which he has been brought by faith." Surely the author might here have added—"and sincere repentance." " The devils also believe and tremble " (St. James ii. 19), but there is no peace, no justification in reward of their faith (page 159). " The reconciliation (to God) continues unimpaired by the course of time or the believer's own shortcomings," etc. Here is a most fatal doctrine, recalling that expression put into the mouth of Luther : " *Pecca fortiter, crede fortius* "—" Sin strongly, believe more strongly."

Again, on page 200, we read : " Although a sinner is justified but once, yet when he has been justified, he is in need of daily forgiveness." Is justification compatible with the death of the soul occasioned by mortal sin? And yet the justified sinner may sin grievously ; alas ! how often does he not do so ! Is it not the height of presumption for weak and sinful man to arrogate to himself in this life that greatest and most free gift of God which is reserved for the end of man's mortal life? What mean those terrible warning words : " Work out your salvation with fear and trembling " ? (Philippians ii. 12).

Has the author forgotten that " love is the fulfilment of the law " ; that of faith, and hope, and charity, the greatest is charity or love ? (Romans xiii. 10, and 1 Cor. xiii. 13). We cannot think so ; yet he tells us that " the whole intercession of

the Saviour for the world is directed and *limited* to the one object of bringing the world to believe" (page 210).

We have the words of the author warning us that "the words of God are too precious to have their true meaning sacrificed for the sake of some theological system which men may form" (page 168). Does not the author himself appear to violate his own rule in his efforts to uphold the false doctrine of justification by faith alone. It might, indeed, be argued that he meant no such thing. We can only appeal to his words in the passages quoted above, and point out that whatever his inner thoughts may have been, his words at least bear us out in our interpretation.

E. G.

Discourses, Doctrinal and Moral. By the Most Rev. Dr. MACEVILLY, Archbishop of Tuam. Dublin : M. H. Gill and Son. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 8vo, pp. 382. Price 7s. 6d.

"**A**RE not My words as a fire, saith the Lord : and as a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?" These words of the prophet Jeremias (xxiii. 29) would appear to have been continuously before the mind of the most reverend author of these discourses. The words of human wisdom may fail to pierce the intelligences and to enkindle the hearts of men, but the words of Divine wisdom cannot return to Him Who uttered them, void. There is hardly a page in this volume that is not rich in apt and strong quotations from the Sacred Scriptures. This is promised in the preface, and the promise has been most faithfully kept.

The discourses are, as a rule, too long to be delivered singly, at least on ordinary occasions, and by preachers of ordinary ability. Only the gifted orator could hold the attention of his audience during the delivery of some of them in their entirety.

It was not, however, the author's intention that they should be so delivered. He has placed them in the hands of both clergy and laity. For the former they will suggest subject matter, sound doctrine, texts from Sacred Scripture, and beautiful ideas, which may be studied, recast in the mould of the preacher's own mind, and delivered to his flock as the living, energised result of his own individual reflection, and not as the

laboured and lifeless result of a feat of memory. In most instances each discourse will furnish abundant material for two or three moderately long sermons.

For the laity these discourses will prove most excellent subjects for their spiritual reading.

The discourses number twenty-five. The volume which contains them is well bound, the print is large and clear, and, as a rule, free from errors. On page 6 a superfluous "s" has crept into the word "confusion."

At times there is a freedom of expression which might not have been remarked in the first delivery to a congregation of fellow-countrymen, but which seems odd in cold print.

On page 21 we read: "There is scarcely a verse in the Gospel of which *I am after giving you* the literal interpretation," etc. Again, "will and shall," "would and should" are somewhat mixed in different passages throughout the volume.

The book is a most valuable addition to our Catholic homiletic literature. The author was an eminent theologian and exegetist; and the hard-worked missionary will find both pleasant and easy expositions of deep dogmatic, moral, and social questions in these pages.

E. G.

From Hearth to Cloister in the Reign of Charles II. By FRANCES JACKSON. London: Burns and Oates; New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. Pp. 116.

THE Protestant historians of the reign of Charles II. are too much occupied with bogus plots and treasonable actions ascribed to the Catholics of that period, to pay any attention to the virtuous lives and heroic self-sacrifice of so many of those who faithfully adhered to the old religion. The Catholic historian is unfortunately guilty of a similar omission, by reason of the overwhelming task which confronts him, of exposing the gross falsehoods disseminated at that time against his co-religionists.

The writer of this book has conferred a great boon upon us, in introducing us to *real* characters who lived during the reign of the "Merry Monarch," and who were absolutely untainted with the vices and corruption of that profligate age. We have two distinguished families mentioned in these memoirs, and un-

doubtedly there must have been others like to these, whose lofty principles and blameless lives form a striking contrast to the pictures of English life of the period that are usually set before us. Moreover, we obtain more than a hint that Catholic practices were by no means eradicated from the minds and hearts of English men and women. Whence came that instinctive feeling of a call to the monastic life that took such firm hold of Sir John and Lady Warner? The latter had felt it from her childhood, and realised later the necessity of renouncing the Protestant religion in order that she might carry out her heart's desire. Sir John's brother and sister, too, were filled with a like resolve, and gave up all to follow it.

The divisions in the Protestant Church of England to-day find their counterpart in the seventeenth century. Sir John and Lady Warner are astonished to find that their Church and her Doctors have become so papistical as to admit "that it was a mere punctilio the Pope stood upon, that hindered the union of both churches" (p. 48).

The life of Lady Warner, as Sister Clare of Jesus, is the life of a saint. She was a wonder in her austerities even to the poor Clares, whose rule itself is one that calls for extreme self-sacrifice on the part of those who live up to it.

By mutual consent, husband and wife had separated in order that each might carry out their heaven-sent vocation. Each freely sacrificed the other to God, Who called them to Himself, and Whose Will they valued far more than the tender affection that they felt for each other—an affection of which Lady Warner writes (p. 84): "And if I would have begged of God to have given me one of whom I might have made a most perfect sacrifice, and in whom I only and purely lived by chaste and passionate affection, it must have been yourself." Sir John Warner became a priest in the Society of Jesus, and rose to the high position of a General of that Society.

The authoress of the book has succeeded admirably in weaving together her own appreciation of the memoirs, with the quaint and beautiful style of their original writer, and of the letters of Sir John and Lady Warner. The book is strongly and elegantly bound, paper and print are good, and the whole style is quite up-to-date.

E. G.

Granville History Readers. By T. J. LIVESEY. Books II. and III. London: Burns and Oates.

WE have expressed our view, in a former number, on the first book of this series. We welcome these two numbers, and we are convinced that the little ones, for whom they were written, will also gladly welcome them. The right religious tone prevails throughout the books. England was for centuries in close and continuous relations with the Holy See. The author has wisely confined himself to the strictly true and accurate statements of fact with regard to these relations. No inferences are drawn, no motives are imputed, save when both are of the nature of historical facts themselves. In these last points, many histories for children that have come from Protestant pens have signally failed, and have been rendered impossible as class-books in the Catholic school.

These history readers cannot fail to satisfy non-Catholic teachers who are anxious to impart true history to the children committed to their care. It is surely high time to omit the acknowledged fables and absurd glosses that have hitherto marred many children's school books of history.

E. G.

L'Année Chrétienne : Conseils aux Femmes du Monde pour bien sanctifier l'Année. Paris: Ancienne Maison Ch. Douniol. P. Téqui, Libraire-Editeur, 29, Rue de Tournon. 8vo, pp. 386.

LADIES living in the world will find in this volume the solution to the problem—how to be in the world and yet not of it. Nothing extraordinary, no terrible austerities, no impossible practices of devotion are exacted of them. The duties of the day, even down to the minutest details, are passed in review, and common-sense, practical direction is given as to the manner in which they may be holily achieved, and the motives which will sanctify each and everyone of them.

Having laid down the fundamental rules of living in the Presence of God, and in the continuous intention of imitating Jesus Christ in His perfect conformity to His Heavenly Father's Will, the book proceeds to show how these two great truths may be made to permeate every action of the day, saving them

from evil influences, and elevating them to the order of actions meritorious of eternal life. These two principles of conduct will check all immoderateness in the matter of dress, food, and time spent in idle frivolities, leaving each one reasonably free to live according to her station in life. They will ensure the fulfilment of the ordinary religious practices which are well within the powers of each. Morning prayer, Holy Mass daily; ejaculatory prayers by which the *consciousness of the Divine Presence* also is maintained. Confession and Holy Communion at frequent and regular intervals are inculcated, and excellent methods are given according to which these duties may be perfectly accomplished. Counsels of the greatest utility are given with regard to the necessary relaxations of visiting, conversation, and the frequentation of places of amusement. The book would be a valuable source of information and guidance to one who was giving a retreat to ladies living in the world.

E. G.

Salvage from the Wreck. A few memories of friends departed preserved in Funeral Discourses. By FATHER GALLWEY, S.J. New Edition, enlarged. Art and Book Co. 8vo, pp. xxvi.-427. 1903.

WE are glad to welcome this new edition of Father Gallwey's touching memorial to his departed friends. The short biographies appended to the funeral discourses are both edifying and interesting, in fact, the whole book is likely to enchain the reader's attention from first to last. Among the well-known Catholics commemorated in these pages are Cecil, Marchioness of Lothian, Lady Georgiana Fullerton, Prince Louis Napoleon, better known as the Prince Imperial, and Mr. Charles Weld. Few parts of the book are more touching and edifying (in the best sense of that much-abused word) than the account of the Cunninghame family and their wonderful conversion.

We cannot extend the same commendation to the illustrations, which, for these days of art reproduction, are singularly bad. If no better portrait could be obtained of the Hon. Charles Langdale, for instance, it were surely better not to have inserted one at all. These are, however, but flies in the ointment, and the ointment is exceedingly precious, sweet with the fragrance of holy lives and holy deaths, filling the Church of God with their perfume.

D. B. C.

Lettres à un Protestant. Par l'Abbé SNELL, du Clergé de Genève. Avec une Préface de S. E. le Cardinal Perraud. Paris. 1903.

THIS admirable collection of letters is the work of a priest, himself a convert from the dominant Calvinism of Geneva.

Cardinal Perraud, who introduces him to the reader, reveals this fact, which the author's modesty had concealed.

The book is addressed to the orthodox or conservative section of Protestants, those who still profess their belief in the Bible and appeal to it in defence of their religious tenets. The two branches of Protestantism, the right and the left wings, so to speak, are radically and profoundly divided. Those with whom our author is concerned are the older school of Protestants, who are represented by the *Semaine Religieuse* of Geneva, who sum up their faith in the following points: "The Divinity of Christ; His work of redemption; justification by faith; need of the Holy Spirit for regeneration; inspiration of the Scriptures sole rule of Faith." The author shows how the fundamental principle of Catholicism is authority, while that of Protestantism is private judgment; and that it follows from this that to decide between the two churches it suffices to show whether the act of faith depends on the individual judgment or on an infallible authority. The Protestants always avoid thus going to the root of things. They prefer to expatiate on their familiar bug-bears—the Spanish Inquisition, "Mariolatry," the Confessional, etc. This is not surprising, but it betrays the fact that they are conscious of the weakness of their cause. Only recently the *Semaine Religieuse* of Geneva positively refused to accept the challenge of a priest to a controversy on these fundamental principles. They had too many other subjects to discuss, they said.

Our author writes with the greatest possible charity, indeed with a touching tenderness, for his separated brethren.

His arguments are sound and weighty, and lose nothing in clearness by being expressed in the most lucid of all modern languages. He shows what insensate pride it is to refuse to inquire into the Church's doctrines, to declare that they will not bear a quarter-of-an-hour's examination, to refuse to examine the system against which they protest.

"Singulière religion, qui les met dans le cas de répudier ce qu'ils ignorent, et de condamner ce qu'ils n'ont jamais étudié."

There is too much of this inconsequence still to be found in

England. How true again is the reflection, "On me dira qu'un grand nombre de débats religieux ne produisent rien autre chose que l'irritation. Soit, mais l'irritation est encore un fruit."

These letters are, we think, bound to produce their fruit, at least in hearts that are honest and loyal in their search after truth.

D. B. C.

Tortures and Torments of the Christian Martyrs. From the *De SS. Martyrum Cruciatibus* of the Rev. Father GALLONIO. Translated and adapted by A. R. Allinson, M.A. (Oxon.) Illustrated with the forty-six original plates. London and Paris: Printed for the Subscribers. 1903. 4to, pp. xvi.-244.

WE are at a loss to understand the intention with which this adaptation of Padre Gallonio's well-known work has been published. The book itself is, of course, a very striking one, and the numerous engravings from the designs of Giovanni de Guerra, of Modena, are here faithfully reproduced. They, of course, form the principal attraction of the work. But Gallonio, however pious and edifying, is out of date, his authority cannot be relied on as to the true acts of the martyrs, and the plates are more realistic in their horrors than is suited to the taste of our times.

This however might pass, and the book be welcomed as an interesting piece of antiquity, were it not for the extraordinary "Publisher's Note" which serves as preface to this edition. "Extraordinary" is indeed a very mild word to use. We are astonished that, as far as we have seen, no notice has been taken of this outrage in the notices which have already appeared of the book in Catholic periodicals. The publisher (whose name is not given) gives it as his "deliberate conviction" that the "prodigious vogue enjoyed" by the work "throughout Europe for so many years was largely, if not chiefly, due to the same morbid love of horrors that carried the Roman populace to the Coliseum, drew the London mob to Newgate and Tyburn, and the Parisians in their thousands to the Place de Grève to watch Damiens and Ravallac done to death," etc. He therefore apparently considers the book to be of a debasing character.

But this is nothing to what follows—a passage so incredible that one can hardly believe one's eyes on first reading it.

"We may recall a passage in Renan's preface to his famous *L'Abbesse de Jouarre* which throws a startling and not very edifying light on the circumstances attending, or rather immediately preceding, the moment of martyrdom *in many instances* (*italics our own*).

"There is one thing above all else," he writes, "bound to assume, in its final hour, a character of absolute and utter sincerity, and that is Love. I often picture to myself, supposing mankind should acquire the certainty that the world was to come to an end in two or three days, how Love would burst forth on all hands in a sort of uncontrollable phrenzy. . . . *This is precisely what happened to the martyrs of the early Christian Church. The last night they spent together in prison gave occasion to scenes that moralists could not but disapprove.* These unions under the shadow of death were but the natural consequences of the tragic situation, and the condition of exalted happiness which affects men and women brought into each other's company to die together for one and the same noble cause. In such a case, the body, so soon to be tortured, is as good as annihilated already. The spirit only is left dominant; the great leveller, Death, has destroyed all mundane scruples; the soul is verily and indeed by anticipation in the Kingdom of God."

This abominable calumny against the holy martyrs is thus cited from an apostate's infamous book, and issued with a work of piety and edification such as is Padre Gallonio's. It is needless to dwell longer on the blasphemous cynicism with which this impure dreamer depicted God's saints as indulging in orgies of lust as a preparation for martyrdom. Everyone knows what Renan was, and what kind of a book is *L'Abbesse de Jouarre*. But to find such a passage in a book like this, quoted as if it related recognised facts which happened frequently, is really intolerable, and renders a warning necessary. This preface (which is signed C. C.) concludes with this sentence, printed in capital letters: "THOSE WHO CANNOT BELIEVE MAY WORK ON AND HOPE." The writer speaks of "the earnest Christian, to whatever sect or branch of the Universal Church he may belong;" and the whole preface is written from the point of view of one who considers himself superior to any "sect or branch" of Christianity. We can but again repeat our wonder as to how this work ever came to be published.

D. B. C.

Emilienne: Lettres d'une Mère. Par JEAN CHARRAAU.

Paris: P. Téqui. 1903. 8vo, pp. 474.

THIS is a most charming book, and were it what it pretends to be, *i.e.*, the real letters of a real mother, it would deserve to rank with the *Recit d'une Sœur*. But it is an imaginary picture of modern life in France, drawn by a Jesuit Father now exiled from his country.

The story, entirely told in letters, is that of a young girl, piously brought up, who falls in love with an unbeliever, whom she persists in marrying in spite of the wise advice of her friends. She hopes to convert him, but, on the contrary, her married life soon becomes a martyrdom. He is a Freemason, and grows more and more hostile to the Faith, until he is killed in a duel, without giving any sign of penitence to console his heart-broken wife.

She had already lost the greater part of the large fortune for which her husband had married her, but she heroically struggles on, devoting herself to her children and rewarded by their love and goodness. Charles, the eldest, a young cavalry officer, who at once gives up his cherished profession to work for his mother, is a most lovable and delightful character. His letters are full of gaiety and affection, mingled with extraordinary good sense and a shrewd comprehension of the political and religious situation, which it is greatly to be wished could be shared by most French Catholics. His various situations as a tutor gives the author the opportunity of describing various forms and pictures of French life: the superannuated Royalist, who hugs his dreams in aristocratic exclusiveness; the opportunist who, in order to get elected to the Chamber, blows hot and cold, is alternately Catholic and Atheist, according to his surroundings, and never consistent for a day together; the indulgent and worldly parents who habitually read every sort of bad book and leave them about the house, and yet expect their children to be innocent, and when they are found to be vicious lay all the blame on the Fathers whose school they frequent; the ambitious politician who throws over all his religious scruples one by one in order to make his career; the militant Atheists who watch by the dying bed of their comrade, lest the priest should approach him in his hour of need; the frivolous girl who marries a rich Protestant, allows her baby to be christened at the "Temple," and eventually gives up her faith, all (as she would persuade

herself and others) from the highest possible motives; these and many more move through these pages with a vivacity which is essentially French and which cannot but charm the reader.

The way in which the character of *Emilienne* is developed is a real masterpiece. At first we see her as a gay school girl, then as a happy bride. Too soon the shadows gather around her bright young life, but the cup of suffering which she has to drain to the very dregs is to her the very water of life. She is gradually transformed into one of those valiant women, whose piety, faith and constancy form perhaps the one hope left for the future of their unhappy country. This is preeminently a book to be read.

D. B. C.

Wreaths of Song from a Course of Divinity. By the author of "Wreaths of Song from Courses of Philosophy." 8vo, pp. 88. Dublin: Gill and Son.

THESE verses are by a Professor of All Hallows' College, Dublin, and are dedicated to his students "as souvenir of our year's treatise *De Deo*, and of the Diamond Jubilee of our College, 1902." They are divided into three parts, entitled respectively "Harmonics," "Thought-terming," and "Allel."

It needs the genius of a St. Thomas to turn the most abstruse theological mysteries into magnificent verse, and the songs of the Dublin professor will not, we venture to think, obtain a place beside the *Lauda Sion* or the *Pange Lingua*. No doubt he would be the last to claim such a position.

The verses may be of use to theological students as a kind of *Memoria technica*, but they are not likely to be popular as poetry. The very nature of their theme, of course, forbids this. We have not found them easy reading. But let the reader judge for himself. Here is a specimen taken at random:—

"Blessed who comes
In the name of the Lord"—
Soul, own thee thus come of his word
In that thou hast self-known.
What through itself of a life heard
That life names as His own?

Be whence they may those forms that fade,
Sense-clothing such as thou,
Self-own thy Maker, the Unmade,
As Thereof made-think now.

D. B. C.

Helps to a Spiritual Life. From the German of Rev. JAS. SCHNEIDER, S.J. With Additions by Rev. F. GIRARDEY, C.S.S.R. Pp. 257. New York : Benziger Bros. 1903.

SOULS who are earnest in desiring to sanctify themselves will use this book with profit and with gratitude towards its authors. The book opens with a Christian rule of life, and proceeds to treat on prayer, meditation, confession, and holy communion. The tenth chapter contains a short but most beautiful treatise on "Purity of Intention," taken from the writings of S. Alphonsus. Scarcely in any respect inferior to this are the two treatises contained in the sixteenth and seventeenth chapters, on the marks of a fervent religious, and on the motives for serving God more and more fervently every day. The nineteenth chapter provides us with the goodly number of one hundred and forty-four mottoes and maxims, in which much wisdom is treasured up. To quote an example, No. 98 : "Do not easily excuse thyself ; of thyself say nothing praiseworthy, nothing derogatory ; the former is vanity, and the latter seldom sincere." However, not all of the one hundred and forty-four mottoes are equally good. If a second edition should be required, as we sincerely hope it will be, a thorough revision and sifting of the mottoes would be desirable.

No. 65, for instance, runs : "Blessed is he who loves without desiring to be loved ; blessed is he who serves and does not desire to be served." This, though said of love in general, should surely be restricted to love between created beings. For as far as our love of God is concerned, it cannot exist without the desire of being loved in return. Divine love, the essential factor of our heavenly bliss, must necessarily be a mutual love.

I. T.

La Bruyère and Vauvenargues. By ELIZABETH LEE. Westminster : Archibald Constable. 1903.

THE two French classics here selected by Miss Lee for illustration are representatives of a school which had far more vogue in their day than in ours. The less reflective modern age values action rather than thought, and turns aside from the meditations of the philosopher in his study to the

consideration of less abstract subjects of discussion. Maxims, sententious or cynical ; wit and wisdom in homœopathic doses, under the guise of proverbs or epigrams, would fail of their effect on a generation craving for coarser stimulants. All the more will the ordinary reader welcome a volume which contains some of the gems of the past disposed and arranged in such fashion as to be brought within the compass of the most cursory view. Miss Lee performs to admiration the task of their exhibitor, introducing a well translated selection from the two authors, with a short critical chapter and brief memoir of each. They are well suited for combined treatment, since they both devoted themselves to the same literary *genre* painting, and are known by pithy maxims and reflections, as well as by imaginary portraits or character sketches, of which each has left a well-filled portfolio. One of La Bruyère's reflections has perhaps suggested itself to many authors in search of originality.

"Everything has been said, and we come too late by the seven thousand years that men have lived and thought. The finest and best things about morality have already been appropriated, and nothing is left for us but to glean after the ancients, and the cleverest of the moderns."

Vauvenargues is more epigrammatic when he says, "There are none so sour as those who are sweet to order ;" and "Consciousness of our strength increases it."

The "characters" of La Bruyère are what we should call types, and his method is that of the caricaturist who seizes a single trait and emphasises it by exaggeration. The nose of Cyrano de Bergerac, which eclipses all his other features, is not more obtrusively in evidence than the salient peculiarity in this fantastic portraiture. Menalcas, the Absent-minded Man, comports himself as follows :

"He gets married in the morning, forgets all about it in the evening, and goes home at night as if nothing had happened. A few years later he loses his wife, she dies in his arms, he goes to the funeral, and the next day, when his servants announce dinner, he asks if his wife is ready and if she has been told. It is also he who, entering a church, takes the blind beggar at the door for a pillar and his dish for the holy water vase, dips his hand in, when suddenly he hears the pillar speak and ask for alms." And thus the author pursues the idea through a series of comic situations.

Vauvenargues is less of a satirist and more of a moralist.

His characters have none of the farcical element of La Bruyère's, and are rather serious than humorous types. Varus, for instance, the personification of liberality, who "hates useless luxury and purposeless profusion," is a model of generosity. "If he has to give money to a man who makes no ceremony about receiving it, who is besides poor and of low rank, Varus's only fear is of giving it to him in a manner that might make him feel his position. He embraces him, shakes hands with him, in a way apologises for his good deed. He says that between friends everything is in common, and such kindly conduct raises the soul of the poor man so that he in his turn apologises for the poverty that compels him to ask assistance."

For those who wish to learn with the minimum of trouble the characteristics of these two lights of French literature, Miss Lee's volume supplies a sufficiency of information in an interesting form.

La Très Sainte Eucharistie : Exposition de la Foi des Douze Premiers Siècles de l'Église sur le Dogme de la Présence Réelle d'après les Ecrits des Pères. Par Mgr. BÉGUINOT, Evêque de Nîmes. Paris : P. Lethielleux. 1903. 2 vols, 8vo.

SO much has been written of late years on the subject of the Holy Eucharist in doctrinal treatises, in controversial papers, and in manuals of devotion, that it might well seem a needless labour to make a fresh addition to this rich branch of Catholic literature. Yet it is no disparagement to the many excellent works already in evidence to say that the two volumes before us need no apology for their appearance. For Mgr. Béguinot's book is not, as might be supposed from its title, a mere treatise on the traditional doctrine ; but a well-ordered series of selections from the Fathers and mediæval masters, who are wisely left to speak for themselves in their own words. It is true, indeed, that this is not an entirely novel method of treatment. Every dogmatic or controversial work on the subject has its array of patristic quotations ; and the celebrated *Perpétuité de la Foi* has illustrated the Eucharistic tradition on a larger scale ; while more recently Fr. Hurter has brought together some of the minor writings of the Fathers on the Blessed Sacra-

ment. But the plan now adopted differs in some degree from the methods of earlier authors or compilers. Following up the idea of the late Abbé Berthamier, whose anonymous *Traditio Eucharistica* had been used with due acknowledgment, Mgr. Béquiot has set forth a full and ordered series of notable passages from writers of every century from the first to the thirteenth. The words of the Fathers are given throughout in a French version, which is formally accompanied by the Latin. This plan at once puts the book within the reach of a wide range of readers, while the scholar has, at least in the majority of cases, the advantage of seeing the original before him. The chief exceptions to this practice are St. Augustine, St. John Chrysostom and St. Thomas Aquinas. The two great Fathers furnish so many passages that to give them all in duplicate would fill too large a part of the volume. And the text of St. Thomas, as Mgr. Béquiot says, is in the hands of all. No reasonable objection can be made to this course in the case of St. John Chrysostom, for if we are not to have the Greek from which the French version was very properly made, we know not why the reader should be desirous of seeing the Latin. But we confess we should prefer to see St. Augustine given in the original; for many readers may not have his works within reach, and few authors lose more by translation however well and accurately it may be made. The length of the extracts need present no difficulty. For after all the space spent in printing the original words of the great African doctor might be recouped by omitting some of the Latin versions of the Greek or Syriac writers. This point is worth consideration in some future edition of the book. For apart from its more immediate object as a defence of the Catholic doctrine, this well-ordered and copious collection of extracts from the pages of the Fathers is likely to prove a boon to many priests engaged in missionary labour. And its value in this way would merely be enhanced by the presence of the original words of St. Augustine, and, we may add, St. Thomas.

The mere selection of these innumerable extracts from the Greek and Latin literature of twelve centuries was certainly a sufficiently exacting labour. But Mgr. Béquiot has not been content to confine himself to the work of research and judicious selection. And though he has wisely refrained from obtruding his own words where the Fathers can speak for themselves, he has yet said enough to enable the reader to get the full benefit

of the text before him. In every case the extracts are followed by a brief notice of the writer. The reader's attention is drawn to any salient points, while occasional foot-notes are added to elucidate difficulties or to meet the objections to which some obscure expressions may be open. Besides this there is a general survey of the writings of each successive century; and a brief defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence is prefixed to the first volume. The extracts from the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers are drawn from the literature of the first twelve centuries. Yet, as we have already seen, the author trenches so far on the writings of the thirteenth as to include St. Thomas Aquinas, who summed up the work of all who had gone before him; and as Mgr. Béquinot naturally makes extracts from the decrees of councils, as well as from the works of individual writers, the whole series is brought to an appropriate conclusion by the Tridentine decrees on the subject of the Holy Eucharist.

In questions of criticism, the author adopts a moderate line; and while he carefully refrains from citing evidence that has been shown to be worthless, he wisely leaves some questions open, and quotes some doubtful passages with due reservation. As he justly points out, works that have been wrongly ascribed to some of the great Fathers of the early Church may yet have a high value as evidence of the age in which they were really written. Such is the case with the Apostolic Canons and Constitutions, and with the books that bear the name of Dionysius the Arepagite. The latter writings are cited in an appendix to the evidence from the first century, since this happens to be the place they occupy in the Latin Patrology. If Mgr. Béquinot had been guided by his own opinion regarding this origin, they must have been relegated to some later pages of the volume.

As might be expected, in a work covering such a wide field of learning, we meet with occasional slips; and on some points the author's judgment may be open to some objection. Happily, however, these do not affect the value of the evidence he has here brought together. Thus, Hermas is mentioned among the writers of the first century, in spite of the evidence of the Maratorian fragment. And speaking of St. Cornelius our author observes: "*On sait également les différends, qu'il eut avec Saint Cyprien sur la question des rebaptisants. Elle se termina par la soumission glorieuse de Saint Cyprien*" (p. 234). In this there is apparently some confusion between Popes Stephen and

Cornelius. And the "glorious submission" hardly belongs to history.

The Latin texts are printed with admirable accuracy, but there are some strange misprints in English or German proper names. Thus a learned Anglican bishop appears as "Bévéré-gide," and the name of a great German theologian is repeatedly printed "Moelher."

Among the most valuable and interesting pages of the whole book are those devoted to the Eucharistic evidence afforded by the catacombs. Many of the symbolical emblems of those early Christian monuments are reproduced in some clearly printed plates, accompanied by a full explanation of their mystic meaning.

W. H. K.

Books Received.

History of Philosophy. By Rev. W. Turner, S.J.D. Boston and London : Ginn and Co. 12mo, pp. x.-674. 2.50 dols.

Jean Bertaut. Par l'Abbé Georges Greute. Paris : Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. 438. 1903.

La très Ste. Eucharistie. Par Mgr. Beguinot, Ev. de Nismes. Paris : Lethielleux. Two Vols., pp. xi.-544, xxi.-556.

Numbers : Critical and Exeg. Commentary (International Art Comm.). By G. B. Gray, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh : Clark 8vo, pp. 489. 12s.

Monasteries and Religious Houses of Great Britain and Ireland. By F. M. Steele. London : Washbourne. 8vo, pp. 266.

Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions. By Rev. E. A. Cooke. Oxford : Clarendon Press. 8vo, pp. xxiv.-408. 16s.

Histoire du Second Empire. Par Pierre de la Gorce. Paris : Plon, Nourrit et Cie. Tome 6me, 8vo, pp. 466.

Cambridge Modern History : United States. Vol. VII. Camb. Univ. Press. 8vo, pp. xxvii.-857.

Die Geschichte des Leidens und Sterbens, der Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt des Herrn. Von Dr. Joh. Belser. Freiburg : Herder. 8vo, pp. viii.-524. 8 marks.

Le Saint Empire. Par Jean Birot. Paris : V. Lecoffre. 8vo, pp. xvi.-272. 3 frs.

Lettres Spirituelles de Bossuet. Paris: P. Téqui. 8vo, pp. xv.-355. 2 frs.

Nomination et Institution Canonique des Evêques. Par T. Népon des Varennes. Paris: P. Téqui. 8vo, pp. 213. 2 frs.

Six Mois d'Histoire Révolutionnaire. Par Marius Sepet. Paris: P. Téqui. 8vo, pp. 380. 3.50 frs.

Heinrich Ewald. Von Witten Dariss. London: Unwin. 8vo, pp. viii.-142. 3s. 6d.

The Friars, and how they came to England. By Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. London: Sands and Co. 8vo, pp. 252. 5s. 6d.

History of England: For Catholic Schools. By E. Wyatt Davies. London: Longmans. 8vo, pp. x.-539. 3s. 6d.

Les Sacrements de l'Eglise Catholique. Par Dr. Nicolas Gühr. Paris: Lethielleux.

Les Sacrements en particulier, trad. de l'Allemand par l'Abbé Ph. Mazoyer—(ii.) "d'Eucharistie" (pp. 380); (iii.) "Pénitence" (pp. 314); (iv.) "Onction, Ordre, Mariage" (pp. 348). 5 frs. each.

Les Indulgences. Par R. P. Alexis M. Lepicier. Paris: Lethielleux. Two Vols., 8vo, pp. xi.-xx.-335 and pp. ii.-306.

Le Médecin Chrétien. Par Char. Moureau et Dr. Latraud. Paris: Lethielleux. Pp. viii -304.

Lingard's History of England: Abridged and Continued. By Dom H. N. Birt, O.S.B. With Preface by Abbot Gasquet, D.D. London: George Bell and Sons. 8vo, pp. 644. 1903. 5s.

Towards Eternity. By Abbé Poulin. Translated by M. T. Torromé. London: Burns and Oates. 8vo, pp. 312. 5s.

A Mirror for Monks. By Lewis Blossius. "A Short Rule," by same, translated by B. Wilberforce, O.P. "The Oratory of the Faithful Soul," by same, translated by Robert A. Coffin. London: Art and Book Company. 12mo, pp. 94, 60, 112. 1s. each.

- From Letter to Spirit.** By Edwin A. Abbott. London : A. and C. Black. 8vo, pp. 1149. 20s.
- Sketches of Old Downside.** By Abbot Snow. London : Sands and Co. 8vo, pp. 320. 5s.
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- Studies Concerning Adrian IV.** By Prof. Oliver Jos. Thatcher. Chicago : University Press. 8vo, pp. 88.
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- Un Moine—Le Père Antonin Danzas, O.P.** Par La R. P. Ingold. Paris : Téqui. 8vo, pp. 100. 1 fr.
- Collected Works of F. Max Muller:** The Silesian Horseherd. Translated by Oscar A. Fechter. London : Longmans. 8vo, pp. 220. 5s.
- Essais de Philosophie Religieuse.** Par R. P. Laberthonnière. Paris : P. Lethielleux. 8vo, pp. 331. 3.50 frs.
- The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII.** Translated from approved sources, with Preface, by Rev. S. Wynne, S.J. New York : Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. 580. 5s.
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- Mankind in the Making.** By H. S. Wells. London : Chapman and Hall. 8vo, pp. 420. 7s. 6d.
- The Note Line in Hebrew.** By J. Kennedy, D.D. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 128. 4s. 6d.
- Handbook of Literature.** Fourteenth Edition. By Rev. O. L. Jenkins. Baltimore : John Murphy. 8vo, pp. 622.
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There are many who were connected with Lady Margaret F. Howard by ties of affection, of friendship, and of gratitude for kindness and sympathy received from her, and no doubt they will like to help to erect this Memorial.

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